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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

TWO LOUISIANAS,

AND

AMONG THE SAVAGE NATIONS

OF THE

MISSOURI;

ALSO,

IN THE UNITED STATES, ALONG THE OHIO,
AND THE ADJACENT PROVINCES,

IN 1801, 1802, & 1803.

WITH

A SKETCH OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, CHARACTER, AND THE CIVIL AND
RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

BY M. PERRIN DU LAC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

TWO LOUISIANAS, &c.

CHAP. I.

DEPARTURE FROM BOURDEAUX.—BANKS OF NEWFOUNDLAND—COD FISHERY—ARRIVAL AT THE BAY OF SANDY HOOK.—NEW YORK.—PROMENADES.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—MARKETS.—YELLOW FEVER.—COMMERCE.—RELIGION.—CUSTOMS.—EDUCATION, &c.

I LEFT Bourdeaux on the 14th of August, 1801, and embarked in the Oliver, merchantman, of the United States, commanded by Captain Concklin. We set sail on the following day with a fresh and favourable wind, which in a short time carried us out of sight of the coast. Occupied with the thoughts of France, which I now quitted for the first time, I kept my eyes fixed on the shore, until, confused with the clouds, it entirely disappeared.

I afterwards began to direct my attention to my fellow-travellers. They were twenty-five in number, and most of them were bound for St. Domingo, where they hoped to collect the wrecks of their fortunes, and regain their plundered habitations. Every thing induces me to believe that they have unhappily met with death in that place where they were going to seek what contributes so much to the happiness of life.

Some travellers fatigue their readers with minute accounts of the variations of the barometer and the winds; but I shall only observe, that these were visible in the appearance and behaviour of the passengers, who, being young and unaccustomed to the sea, elevated their hopes to excess, or depressed them with the same facility, according as the changes of the weather were either favourable or adverse.

After a month's sail we arrived at the banks of Newfoundland,

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where we experienced a calm for twenty-four hours. I took this opportunity to go on board a fishing-vessel, which was within cannon-shot of us. A Flemish sailor, whom I met with, related to me the manner of turning this fishery to the greatest advantage.

"Those," said he, "who wish to render this fishery lucrative, arrive on the banks during the first fortnight of June, having on board a numerous crew, and a number of boats proportioned to the size of their vessels. Each boat carries four or five men, among whom the business of the fishery is divided. One baits the hook and casts the line into the sea, another draws it up, a third detaches the cod, while the others clean them, cut off their heads, and take out their tongues. When the boat is full, which, in plentiful years, happens frequently during one day, they bring it to the vessel, where others receive the fish, salt it, and store it in the hold, in which situation it becomes flattened and partly dried." I myself was a witness of these operations, which are executed by the fishermen with admirable dexterity.

This fishery, before the war, was the school which furnished our best sailors. The laborious life which they lead, the bad nourishment, the intemperance of the weather, and the violence of the winds, almost continual in these latitudes, so accustom them to hardships and fatigue, that the government have granted particular protection and encouragement to this commerce.

After the captain had made his observations, we quitted the banks of Newfoundland on the 17th of September. A favourable wind was carrying us towards our destination, and we had already passed the dangers of Nantucket, when the formidable north-west blasted all our hopes. The stream in which we found ourselves bore us to the east, and after having tacked six whole days, we were sixty miles farther from land than when the wind had changed. At last, in a few days, it changed again, and carried us within sight of the coast. We were in hourly expectation of the pilots, when a thick fog suddenly arising, obscured the land, which we had contemplated with so much pleasure. A most violent north wind now left the captain in doubt what course to take; whether to enter without a pilot, or steer back into the main. The fear of the equinoxial winds induced him to adopt the former resolution, although not without great danger. With the plummet in his hand, and by the assistance of an old sailor, who had piloted before in these latitudes, he executed his design with as much success as prudence.

At the moment we were entering Sandy Hook, the fog suddenly disappeared. Directed by an elevated tower, on the top of which fires are lighted every night for the security of ships, we, without trouble or danger, cast anchor, and were sheltered from the wind, which blew all night with uncommon violence.

I am ignorant whether the land after a long voyage appears more beautiful than it really is; but I am certain that the sight of Sandy Hook made me experience novel and delightful sensations. The verdure of the surrounding hills, the neatness and elegance of the houses, the apparent fertility of the earth, the number of ships entering and departing; in short, every thing pleased and astonished me. I passed the rest of the day in contemplating this charming landscape, and in discoursing with my fellow-travellers on the new country which we were going to visit.

A lantern affixed to the top of our main-mast, announced to the pilots that we were in want of their assistance; and the next day, by sun-rise, we received one on board. The north wind, which continued to blow, although with less violence, obliged us to tack for two hours, and pass from the bay of Sandy Hook to that of New York. The entry of this bay is so bound by the two points of land which form it, that a few pieces of cannon planted on the shores would prevent the approach of ships of all descriptions. If the United States have neglected this precaution, it must be attributed to the great security in which they live with respect to the powers of Europe.

At ten o'clock we arrived before a fine hospital, distant nine or ten miles from New York. Here the physician appointed to inspect the ships, resides. Those in which he finds any sick are obliged to perform a quarantine proportioned to the nature of the sickness. As we were all in good health, the doctor's visit was not long. He congratulated us on our good appearance, drank a glass of Madeira wine, and returned to his house, having given the captain a certificate of health for himself and all his company. Scarcely had we set sail again when several journalists arrived, anxious to receive the latest news from Europe. We delivered to them all the papers we were in possession of; and, as an acknowledgment, they received such of the passengers on board as were desirous of going on shore. I was among this number; for being much weakened by the sea-sickness, I desired to regain an element on which I should be able to recover my health and strength. At length, after a short sail, I arrived at the land of liberty, the only place perhaps in the civilised world where people freely communicate their thoughts without dread of the laws, which only restrain calumny; and where the powerful man is no more than the plain citizen, who more strictly owes an account of his public and private conduct to society. Happy people, if they know how to render themselves worthy of this liberty without abusing it!

New York, one of the most ancient cities of North America, is, without dispute, the finest both for its situation and its buildings. Its population has been almost doubled within these twelve years, and at present amounts to sixty thousand, for the most part of English, Scotch, and Irish origin. It is to this superiority of situation that this city owes the preference, which most strangers who visit the United States give it. Placed at the entrance of two rivers, in which the largest ships can navigate at all seasons of the year, it has an invaluable advantage over the other American ports. The number of ships of all burthens, with which these rivers are filled, give to a traveller the most enlarged ideas of the activity and industry of the inhabitants. By unremitted diligence they have risen from indigence to a degree of opulence difficult to be conceived. Money, so scarce after the war carried on for their independence, is at present abundant, and the articles of European manufacture are in profusion, and at a low price. The houses, formerly built of wood, have been replaced by others of stone or brick; and the apartments, without extravagance, are furnished with every thing that is agreeable or useful.

The public buildings announce the wealth of the community; and the churches, that of the societies to which they belong. The streets are broad and furnished with footways, which are regularly lighted at night. The markets are well provided, and remarkable both for their regulation and neatness. The fish-market is particularly so for the quality and diversity of the species, both of the river and the ocean, which are sold at a cheap rate.

The custom-house, the court of justice, the state-prison, and the poor-houses, are so many superb and well preserved buildings. The guildhall, which is small and in a bad situation, is to be rebuilt on a more magnificent plan in a better quarter of the town. The activity displayed in this country in the erection of public buildings is so great, that it is thought before the end of 1805 this edifice will be entirely finished.

New York has two public promenades, the one in the centre of the city, the other at the point of union of the two rivers, both little frequented. Walking does not seem an amusement to this industrious people. The merchants seek recreation in the country on Sundays. As for the American ladies, they prefer walking in the principal street, whose broad and commodious footways are ornamented with beautiful trees, and where they enjoy the pleasure of beholding the elegant shops which line it.

The promenade on the sea-shore is called The Battery, since the government, terrified by the menaces of France, have been obliged to adopt means for its safety. At that time they planted there thirty twenty-four pounders, which they intend to remove on the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Two cross batteries were also constructed on two small islands a little distant, in order to prevent any approach to the city; so greatly do this people dread a government without principles or moderation.

Most of the merchants or proprietors of vessels have docks, in which their ships are defended from the tide and the winds. These docks, which are of great advantage to commerce, are extremely prejudicial to the health of the city. They are in the greatest number on the river towards the east, which is the most mercantile, and at the same time the most unhealthy part of New York.

That epidemic disease so generally known by the name of the yellow fever, constantly manifests itself here; which seems to oppose the population of the cities of this continent, and to conspire against the prosperity of their inhabitants. As soon as the first symptoms discover themselves, the cities are almost deserted, the shops are shut, and the public buildings abandoned. Even the exchange is forsaken, and every individual who possesses the means of subsistence, employs them to escape the contagion. If ambition and avarice cannot determine the Americans to brave the yellow fever, it may easily be imagined that sentiments of friendship, attachment, or love, would not be able to detain them: the men approach with fear; fathers, and even mothers themselves, refuse assistance to their children, and forget their affection; children abandon their parents; in a word, the fear and horror which this disease inspires break the most sacred ties of society, and cause all ideas of humanity to vanish. The sick are left to the care of negroes, who seem privileged from the effects of the contagion, and who often dispatch the patient in order to get possession of his property; certain to escape punishment when the courts are shut and the officers fled. Notwithstanding the opinion of the inhabitants of the United States, I am induced to attribute it to the dirtiness of some parts of the city, but principally to the merchants' docks, or wharfs, in which, till lately, no outlet was contrived for the accumulated filth; which, acted upon by the intense heats of August and September, produces those mephitic effluvia which are so unfavourable to life. Experience is found to confirm this opinion. The inhabitants nearest the river on the east, are always first attacked by the contagion; while those on the river, to the north, where there are fewer docks, and the streets wider and better aired, seldom feel its dreadful effects. The obstinacy of individuals respecting the causes of this disease, has not prevented the government from taking those measures which prudence required. The construction of the docks has been altered. New York has already experienced the advantages of this wise resolution, which probably will be adopted in all the maritime cities of the United States, that alone are depopulated by this disease. At a time when many parts of Europe are in dread of a disease, the very mention of which inspires terror, I think I ought to make known its principal symptoms, and thus afford professional men the means of supporting the spirits and diminishing the evils of society. Being attacked myself, when on my passage to New Orleans, I learned from my French physician, that my complaint had all the appearance of the yellow fever, but such as often occurs when the blood is pure and the season favourable.

It is difficult to discover the reason of its acquiring the name yellow fever*. The most probable conjectures are derived from the existence of an epidemic disease, nearly of the same nature, which appeared in the same parts of the new world during the great heats of the summer of 1745. At that time the maritime cities, although less inhabited and better aired, alone felt its effects. It left the patients who survived in a state of great debility, and during the tedious period of their convalescence they had a yellow look and a languid countenance.

Every person attacked by the yellow fever experiences lassitude, and a violent pain in the kidneys. A severe headach accompanies this first symptom, which precedes the fever some hours. Soon after the mouth becomes parched, and the respiration difficult, the tongue thickens, and becomes, together with the whole interior of the mouth, of a black colour, similar to extravasated blood; to these symptoms delirium succeeds, and the patient is violently agitated, and would destroy himself if not prevented. When spitting of thick and black blood commences, inflammation of the eyes, repletion and rupture of the vessels, there remain no longer any hopes of recovery; the patient sinks into a stupor and dies. In two days the disease arrives at its crisis; but death does not ensue, in general, until the fourth. At the end of this period, if a gentle perspiration comes on, and the appetite returns, a prompt recovery is certain.

A great question, at present, among medical men is, whether it is contagious or not? Some pretend that it is certainly contagious, and that the least intercourse is sufficient to communicate it; others, on the contrary, say, that it may be contagious, but only to those of particular habits, or that an assemblage of different causes conjoined with the intercourse is required; and if these causes are absent, however great the intercourse, there will be nothing to dread. Without involving myself in a discussion too far beyond my abilities, I shall relate facts, leaving professional men to draw conclusions from them. This disorder confines its ravages to the sea-coast, and there is no instance of its having been propagated in the country.

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* It is certain the patient never assumes a yellow appearance; the eyes are only affected as in any other violent fever.

In the summer of 1794, which deprived Philadelphia of nearly one-sixth of its population, one house in the country, less than a mile distant from the city, was the retreat of twenty-four families, who all escaped the infection. At New York they have never seen it extend beyond the rivers, although great numbers of sick are daily crossing them, seeking a purer air.

I am unable to determine whether my account of it will be of any utility; but if the disease which afflicts some parts of Europe, be the same which has ravaged for some years the maritime cities of America, it is an atrocious act of cruelty to shut against those who are infected the road to the country, whither they may go without injury to society.—I say, that to sacrifice whole villages, to deliver up their inhabitants to despair, in debarring them every means of escaping death, without being certain of their infecting others, is a crime worthy only of those barbarous ages from which we believe ourselves so far removed. And, lastly, if the American government had followed this plan, its finest cities would have been destroyed, and its richest possessions ruined.

The commerce of the United States is certainly considerable. Like that of Holland, it has risen from the ruins of nations engaged in war; and consequently will not, after peace in Europe, display the same activity.

Since the establishment of their independence, the United States have, by the wisdom of their government, acquired a degree of prosperity and power which has already been regarded by some European nations with envy.

New York principally furnishes the West Indian colonies with provisions. Sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, and, in short, all the produce which they receive in payment, is exported in their ships to Europe, and exchanged for territorial produce or manufactures, which they either bring back to the colonies, or to the United States, for consumption. Besides this, England and France have, in those years of scarcity with which they have been afflicted, found resources from this rising and industrious people. The excessive price of provisions in those dreadful times, has driven many from Europe to America.

Besides the export-trade, New York possesses an extremely valuable branch of industry. The building of ships will for a long time be a source of wealth and prosperity. The goodness of the materials, and the skill of the workmen, render them the best in the world.

Without foretelling its future grandeur, I shall only observe, the whole town is in motion: the workshops resound with the noise of the workmen; ships constantly arrive from all parts of the world: indeed, the opulence of this rising state cannot better be described than by comparing it with ancient Tyre, which all contemporary authors have represented as the queen of commerce, and the sovereign of the seas.

I should have viewed with greater pleasure the prosperity of this beautiful city, if my mind, yet lamenting the situation of France, had not been obliged to draw the sad comparison. The shattered condition of our ships, with which the sea was formerly covered, but which are now rotting in our ports; the misery of our commercial cities, compared with the opulence of this; every thing, in short, made me ardently desire peace, which alone can restore wealth and prosperity to France.

In New York, as in most other provinces of the United States, the laws are weak, and are often made the source of great abuse. This assertion is confirmed by the great number of bankruptcies which occur every day; more from knavery than the consequence of real misfortune. As commerce increases, those laws will be rendered more efficacious. The state of New York has already adopted some useful regulations, and the government will stop only at that point where too great severity would oppose the good of society and its true interests.

In a country where population consists of people who have emigrated from different nations, different modes of religion must be tolerated; in the United States all are equally protected by the government. Each sect has a separate place of worship, in which its followers assemble without dread of molestation. Fifty-three christian sects are reckoned in the United States. New ones are daily springing up, and it is impossible to say where the number will stop.

The greater part of the inhabitants of New York profess the reformed religion. A Frenchman cannot, without having been a witness, form an idea of the decorum which reigns in their churches. To talk or laugh in them would be a want of respect, which, if it produced the least disturbance, becomes punishable. Among all the sects (the Jews excepted) Sunday is particularly devoted to the offices of religion. On that day all business is suspended, and all public amusements forbidden. Every person only goes from home to the house of prayer, three times a day, except the Roman catholics, who have only two services. The Methodists, Universalists, and others, being fewer here than at

Philadelphia, I shall defer an account of them until my visit to that city. Notwithstanding this wonderful diversity, it has never produced either trouble or discontent in the state.

If there is any thing surprising in the great number of religions, the difference of our customs and those of this place will not be less so. Among us, girls are separated from boys from their infancy, and kept under the inspection of their mothers or governesses. Here the two sexes pass their youth without any distinction, attend the same schools, and receive the same instructions. When they have completed their education, which generally happens about their twelfth or thirteenth year, they are not more restrained. Their school-fellows and acquaintances are permitted to visit them; and when love succeeds to friendship, far from concealing their sentiments, they declare them with a frankness which characterises an ungoverned and unrestrained inclination. Those ladies most distinguished by their fortunes or the rank of their parents, walk alone with their lovers, without deriving any thing from such conduct injurious to their reputation.

The education of youth is simple, and ill calculated to render them learned; no efforts of genius, which have so much distinguished the inhabitants of the mother country, have yet appeared in the United States. Their studies are confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic: some are instructed in the rudiments of Greek and Latin, but so superficially that there is seldom any one found who retains the least remembrance of them. The people are commercial, and all their thoughts are directed to the acquirement of wealth, which almost alway stifles the love of polite literature and the abstract sciences. The accomplishments of music, dancing, and painting, were unknown until some time ago they were introduced by the French.

CHAP. II.

NEWARK.—ENVIRONS OF NEWARK.—FALLS OF THE PAISSAIC.—EXCURSION TO NEW JERSEY.—ELIZABETH-TOWN.—CREOLE WOMEN.—BRUNSWICK.—TRENTON.—ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA.

AFTER a residence of some weeks I quitted New York, where symptoms of the yellow fever appeared. The season, although far advanced, continued excessively hot. The knowledge which I had acquired of the treatment of the Americans, even to persons who are the dearest to them; the fear of the hospital, to which strangers are sent without distinction; the dreadful character of the disease; every thing induced me to seek some place where I might, if possible, escape the contagion. Newark, in Jersey, was the part I fixed upon. This little town, or rather large village, is the most beautiful I have ever seen. The houses, although of wood, are elegantly constructed, and all the inhabitants seem to enjoy the comforts of life.

The number of inhabitants at Newark is about two thousand, almost all Presbyterians. There is also a meeting of Anabaptists; but I seldom ever saw twenty-five people assembled. The Presbyterian church rivals all others at New York, by its size and the elegance of its steeple. The Episcopalian church, which is much smaller, is carefully kept in repair.

Situated on a pleasant declivity of a hill, which commands a vast plain, Newark, celebrated for the salubrity of its air and the hospitality of its inhabitants, attracts a great number of strangers, especially when people are obliged to fly from the city. There is scarcely a house which does not contain some. This intercourse occasioned entertainments, at some of which I assisted, less from the love of pleasure than from the desire of judging of the character of the Americans. At the first sound of an instrument, that indolence and apathy, which seem to characterise both sexes, are seen no more. The most sprightly country dances are preferred. In these moments they appear to the most advantage. Naturally beautiful and fair, the Americans are destitute of that vivacity and expression of countenance without which beauty is but a body without a soul. Passing an uniform life, they are only lively when excited by pleasure, or any violent emotion; and then they are, as it were, unlike themselves. Without doubt, they are far from possessing the grace and elegant motions of the French ladies; but they display, in their attitudes and behaviour, an appearance which gives rise to sentiments which cannot be suppressed. The girls go to entertainments without their mothers, who are seldom present, and who remain at home occupied with their other children, or in their household affairs.

During my stay at Newark, I viewed its environs, and particularly the banks of the river Paissaic, on which the village is built. The country is carefully cultivated; and although the lands are of a sandy and inferior quality, they are sold at a very high price. Desirous of not leaving any thing worthy of attention unobserved, I visited the falls of the river Paissaic, which are considered the greatest curiosity of the province. The village of Patterson, which is on its borders, is seventeen miles distant from Newark. The road is one of the most beautiful in the United States; the number of country seats, and the culture

Ann Andrew

of the hill on the opposite bank, contributes much to its embellishment. Many villages through which I passed possessed nothing particularly worthy of remark: the houses are well built, and the land in general well cultivated; the articles of consumption are received from New York in exchange for timber and fire-wood.

Having arrived at Patterson, which probably owes its existence to the number of visitors which the falls attract, I, with some others led by the same curiosity as myself, took a survey of them. They are seventy feet in height, and during the summer months present a grand and majestic appearance. There are in the town a cotton manufactory, built at a great expence, but deserted for want of sufficient funds; a handsome paper-mill, and an academy.

On our return to the inn, the landlord presented to us a book, in which it is customary for strangers to write their names, and in the first page I perceived those of Washington and his lady. Many persons have added some remarks, conformable to the impression which this picturesque place has made upon them.

A few days subsequent to my journey to Patterson, I was invited to make an excursion to the interior of Jersey. I was told that the family I was going to visit inhabited the richest district of that province; and that the adjacent country merited the attention of a curious observer. We set out on the second of November, and passed through the beautiful town of Springfield, the principal place in the county of Essex. The [illegible] spring, from which it derives its name, supplies all the year pure and fertilising water. The meadows through which it passes furnishes hay of the best quality in abundance. Turkey and Bedminster, the former distant five and the latter six miles from Springfield, present nothing remarkable. The lands on each side of the road, to a great distance, are cultivated with care; and the numerous well-built habitations prove the opulence and industry of their cultivators. The principal commerce of these little countries consists in salted provisions, which, being sent to the markets at Trenton, Brunswick, or New York, are exported to the West Indies. The road from Turkey to Bedminster, the distance of four miles, presents the most charming prospect imaginable. Situated on an agreeable declivity, it commands an immense country surrounded with wood, and in every respect similar to the county of Essex in England, whose heights present a view of seven different counties. Minebrook, where we remained, is a village elegantly built. Its situation is picturesque, and the quality of the circumjacent lands is superior to any that

I had hitherto seen. It is cultivated by negroes, who are treated with kindness and humanity.

After having passed some days in visiting this beautiful country, I returned to Newark. The north-west winds, which are in these countries extremely cold, had arrested the progress of the yellow fever. The merchants returned to their business, and the workmen to their labours; I proposed, therefore, to continue my travels.

On the seventh of November I set out for Elizabethtown, a beautiful little place, seventeen miles distant from Newark. It has, since the troubles in the West Indies, afforded a retreat to many inhabitants of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, who came to seek an asylum in this part of the continent. The apparent tranquillity of these islands has induced many of them to return to their former habitations; but the more prudent part, or those who have other resources, have deferred their departure to more happy times. Elizabethtown, situated on a small river which flows into the bay of New York, is the most agreeable part of Jersey. Its population is not greater than that of Newark; and its inhabitants almost all profess the reformed and Presbyterian religions. Each sect has a church, well built, and carefully kept in repair.

I had an opportunity, during my stay at Elizabethtown, of being present at some French parties, where I was enabled to judge of the character and disposition of the Creole women. Idleness, supineness, and levity, seem to constitute the basis of their pleasures. The slowness of their speaking, their embarrassed countenances, their love of ease, and their repeated yawnings, may appear amiable in the sight of those men who have been accustomed to such graces from their infancy, but a Frenchman must endure much in such company before he can derive any pleasure.

Notwithstanding the pressing invitations that I received from my friends, with whom I had spent some agreeable days at Elizabethtown, I set out for Brunswick on the 11th of November. I had for my companion an old soldier, who had fought against the independence of the United States, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and had remained there since the peace. He showed me two thickets on the road, where the two armies had been encamped for many days, and at some little distance a plain where they had had more bloody work. To my regret he left me at Bridgetown, seven miles distant from Elizabethtown. This place is only remarkable from the number of its bridges; it is almost entirely surrounded by the river Rosway, which has an opening into the bay of Sandy Hook. The road from Bridgetown to Brunswick is less pleasant, and in worse repair. The country is poor and badly cultivated; and the numerous forests of pine-trees discover the barrenness of the land.

Brunswick, at which I arrived in five hours, is situated on a hill, the foot of which is watered by the river Rantin, over which a handsome wooden bridge has been constructed. It is necessary to observe, that almost all the bridges have been built by companies, which, for a certain term of years, receive a toll appointed by the government to reimburse them, and to support the repairs which are requisite. At the expiration of this term, the tolls are reduced so as to be sufficient only for their repair.

The population of Brunswick amounts to about three thousand. The greater part are Presbyterians; and lately the Methodists have erected a church. The commerce of grain and salt provisions is so extensive, that the merchants send these articles to New York, from whence they receive in return every thing necessary for the consumption of the neighbouring countries. A great quantity of furniture, for the use of the West-India islands, is manufactured here. The number of strangers constantly passing and repassing from Philadelphia to New York is another source of its prosperity. The principal street is full of inns; and yet there are often so many visitors, that they can scarcely find lodgings.

After having remained here twenty-four hours, I proceeded towards Trenton, which is distant thirty miles. The road was as bad as that which I had passed during the two preceding days. The first place, twelve miles distant from Brunswick, is Kingstown: it scarcely merits the name of a village. Princeton, six miles farther, is more considerable: it contains a court of justice, and a college*, which has obtained some celebrity. There is only one street, which is not paved. The lands are good, well cultivated, and sell at a high price. The number of inhabitants amounts to about eight hundred, most of whom are Presbyterians.

Trenton, the capital of Jersey, is built at a little distance from the Delaware, and is only celebrated by its public buildings. It contains four thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly Presbyterians and Roman catholics; there are also Quakers, Methodists, Anabaptists, and Universalists: the streets are broad and well paved, the churches are well constructed, and the public markets well regulated. In 1789, in consequence of some disputes with the governor of Pennsylvania, the Congress built a hall, in which were held their meetings. It is a perfect square of forty-five feet; the offices adjoining are well distributed, and the surrounding gardens large and in good order. The academy is equally well constructed; and the youth receive as good an education as it is possible in a country not yet supplied with very skilful and learned men.

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* It was burnt a few days after my departure; but in the following summer it was rebuilt on a more extensive plan.

Trenton receives every thing required from Philadelphia in exchange for salt provisions and articles of manufacture. There is a manufactory of nails, which employs a great number of workmen. I visited most of them, attended by the treasurer of state, to whom I had brought a letter of introduction. Although he was chief of a place which in the United States is reputed to be Jacobinical, I found him an agreeable and learned man. At a future time I shall speak of the difference of political opinions, which ought to be less in this than in any other country. But wherever there are men there will be divisions, which at first form parties, and afterwards subvert the strongest empires.

The road from Trenton to Philadelphia, like that from New York, is bad. It would be a matter of astonishment that the communication between the two principal cities in the United States was not better attended to, if it were not known that mercantile countries always neglect whatever is of no advantage to commerce. The merchandise passes by sea from Philadelphia to New York; besides, as the road almost entirely crosses Jersey, which derives few advantages from it, that state will not expend enormous sums to enrich its neighbours. Between Trenton and Bristol, which are distant twelve miles, there are very few farms. The lands are cultivated and sown with wheat, rye, and maize, which are the chief productions of Jersey. Bristol is a little town, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river Delaware. Burlington, which is built on the opposite bank, carries on the greatest commerce in Jersey. The vessels of 150 tons, which go up loaded with necessaries for the country, bring back in exchange all sorts of provisions. From Bristol to Philadelphia, Frankfort alone merits attention. It contains eleven hundred inhabitants of various religions; the Presbyterians, however, are the most numerous. From thence to Philadelphia the country is neither more inhabited nor better cultivated, and nothing announces the approach to the finest city of the United States, and probably of the new continent.

The Delaware is the boundary of the states of Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is not more than fifty or sixty fathoms below Trenton, but in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia it is of a width equal to the largest rivers in France. I have seen it covered with vessels of all sizes; and even ships of war can navigate it at all seasons except the winter, when they are in danger of being broken in pieces by the ice. At some distance from the city, I observed a dock-yard, in which there were more than twelve ships building; among others there was a beautiful frigate fitting up, and intended to be sent by the government to the Mediterranean, where the United States maintain a fleet to preserve their commerce from the piracy of the Barbary powers.

CHAP. III.

FUNEREAL RITES.—DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—BANKS.—LIBRARY.—THEATRE.—HOSPITAL.—POOR-HOUSES.

THE day after my arrival at Philadelphia, I went to view the interior of the city. I had scarcely crossed the street, when I saw a body carrying to the grave. More than three hundred persons, decently dressed, followed it in silence. The coffin was made of mahogany, without any exterior decorations. The procession stopped at a large burial-ground belonging to the Quakers, surrounded with walls twelve feet in height, and planted with rows of the weeping willow and the cypress. The whole ceremony consisted in depositing the body in a grave five feet deep; after which, each returned in silence, without any perceptible lamentation or regret. This species of philosophy accords with the religious principles of the Quakers, of whom I shall speak hereafter. For the present, I shall content myself in giving some account of the respect paid by the different religious sects in the United States to their dead.

Each sect possesses a piece of ground, destined for the interment of its followers. These grounds are surrounded with walls or pales, to prevent the entrance of any animal. On the death of a member, the relations assemble, and invite to the funeral all those with whom the deceased has had any acquaintance. Those who follow the coffin are generally dressed in black, and show a respectful sorrow, according as they have been interested with the defunct or his family. When the body has arrived at the place of interment, the minister makes a short discourse, in which he enumerates the qualities and virtues of the deceased. He reminds them of the shortness of human life, and exhorts them to live well; after which, he throws some mould into the grave. Every person present follows his example, the relations first, then the friends, and the grave diggers complete this mournful ceremony. When the grave is filled, they place over it a marble slab, on which is engraven in large letters the name of the deceased, the day of his birth, and also of his death. They often add some sentences, which relate to his public or domestic virtues. Those whose fortunes will permit, have them erected at a great expence. The custom of mourning is strictly observed by all the sects except the Quakers. Among some societies, the father and mother put on mourning even for their infants.

As the burial of the dead among all civilized nations has been accounted one of the first duties of society, a duty so little respected during the revolutionary times of France, I thought it necessary to treat of it in a separate chapter. When it was written, France had no longer to deplore the imperfection of this part of her laws. But I think that the example of a people like the Americans, ought to add still more to our ceremonies.

Philadelphia in every respect merits the title of the first city of the United States. It is built on the right bank of the river Delaware, from whence, according to the plan of its founder, it ought to extend to the Schuylkill, which is more than two miles distant; but the great advantages from the proximity of a navigable river have induced the people to build it in another direction. Consequently, instead of forming a perfect square of two miles, it extends three miles on the Delaware, while it is not built more than three quarters of a mile on the side of the Schuylkill. Thus the reservoir, which according to Mr. Penn's plan ought to have been placed in the centre of the city, to supply every part with water, is at a great distance from the western extremity. The building which incloses it is of a fine architecture, and agreeably terminates a street, opposite to which it is constructed. This street, which is fifty feet wide, exclusive of the foot-ways, which are ten on each side, is one of the finest in the world. The markets are 120 fathoms in length, elegantly built, and superior to any I have ever seen in Europe. They are furnished daily with every delicacy which can be desired; and it is difficult to imagine what order and propriety prevail. I should not insist so much on this particular, if I were not conscious of its great importance to the health of a populous city.

The street which divides the eastern part of the city from the western, has occasioned the two parts to be called the Northern and Southern quarters. All the streets that cross it in the direction of the Delaware, are the first, second, third, &c. on the North or South. They are all parallel, regularly constructed, and ornamented with good foot-ways. The houses are of brick, and generally adorned with an elegant white stone, which the Americans call marble; but its grain is too coarse to merit that name.

Philadelphia contains about seventy thousand persons of all sects and religions; and there is no mode of worship in Europe which is not practised here. The numbers of the churches contributes much to the embellishment of the city; but the largest of them will not contain above eleven or twelve hundred persons.

The ancient palace of the president, that of the congress, the banks of Pennsylvania and of the United States; the hospital, the poor-houses, the library, the theatre, and the museum, merit the attention of a traveller.

The buildings which formerly belonged to the president of the Congress have been sold cheap, and converted into an academy. The public library has, in front, a statue of Dr. Franklin, to whom it seems particularly dedicated. No one is ignorant how much physical science is indebted to him; and America will never forget the part he took for her independence. It contains from 30,000 to 32,000 volumes, selected with judgment and preserved with care; it is supported and augmented by an annual subscription, and every subscriber is permitted to have any book he wishes at his own house. The bank of Pennsylvania, the first institution of the kind in this quarter of the world, would be a superb edifice if it was less in decay, and if the columns which form the peristyle were less awkwardly constructed. That which has been lately erected at Philadelphia, may be considered the finest piece of architecture in the United States, although in my opinion it partakes of the faults of the other. It is entirely built of the stone above-mentioned; the blocks which form the columns and stairs are of an admirable size and beauty. These banks, however, are more remarkable for the credit they enjoy than for their elegance of the buildings; their notes are received in preference to money throughout the whole extent of the United States.

The arsenal, begun under the direction of Mr. Adams, has been entirely abandoned by his successor on account of the war with which this country was threatened by France. However pacific a state may be, it ought always to remain on its guard: no one is secure from the ambitious activity of a turbulent neighbour, or from the subversive spirit of those men who are born for the ruin of their country. The arsenal, situated at a little distance from the city, presents a great and well-constructed plan; the architecture is good, and in contemplating the part that is complete it is to be regretted that this superb edifice remains unfinished. The theatre is large, well-built, and beautifully decorated in the interior. The pieces which are performed are English; America has never produced any thing of the kind. Some of the performers have come from London, but they possess a phlegmatic character, from which they never depart. The Americans prefer tragedy to comedy; and seem to take no delight in any thing comic that is not seasoned with gross buffoonery and vulgar wit. Order and decency are strangers to the interior of the theatre. The ear is assailed with a clamorous din, and the nose with the smell of tobacco. The men wear their hats during the performance, and are rarely found polite enough to give up their seats to the ladies.

The hospital is a superb building, where both sexes are attended by nurses, and visited by the most celebrated physicians in Pennsylvania. The beds are placed in different rooms designed for different diseases: they are well ventilated, and only warmed sufficient to prevent the cold being disagreeable to the patients. The apartments destined for advice and operations, are the most beautiful, and the library is supplied with every book which may be required. After having visited the various apartments, I was conducted to the galleries, in which the insane are confined. They are placed in small chambers, and only deprived of their liberty when it is injurious to society. These chambers are eighty in number, and by the assistance of tubes are kept of an equal temperature. Their food is good, and they are supplied with any thing they stand in need of. Being astonished at their numbers, I enquired of the physician to what this disproportion of insane persons could be ascribed. He answered, without hesitation, that more than half owed the loss of their reason to ebriety! of the other half, one third to love or jealousy; another, to religous fanaticism; and the last, to a variety of maladies.

The revenues of the hospital are augmented by individual charities and the improvements of the lands belonging to it. They are let to respectable tenants by the state of Pennylsvania. The physicians and surgeons exercise their professions gratuitously during one, and sometimes two years. The same humanity which watches over the sick, is shewn to those whom accidents, misfortune, or old age have deprived of tue means of supporting themselves. They are removed to the poor-houses, where they are occupied in the most easy employments, decently clothed and maintained. There is a room set apart for the old, the lame, the blind, and all those who are afflicted with any disease which by slow degrees conducts them to the grave. The men are separated from the women. The men are employed in untwisting old cables, washing, and cleaning the tar from them, that they may be made use of again: the women card or spin cotton and wool. Tailors, shoemakers, and others who are unable to gain their living in the world, follow here their respective businesses, when their health permits.

The revenues of the houses, like those of the hospital, are managed by respectable inhabitants, who are appointed every year by the state of Pennylvania.

Philadelphia is of all the cities in the United States one in which the yellow fever has made the greatest ravages. In 1793 it broke out and affected more than three hundred persons, the greater part of whom were destroyed by it. It again appeared in 1798 and 1799, but accompanied with less terrible symptoms. Although the government have adopted every possible means to prevent intercourse with countries infected by it, it again appeared in 1802, attended by the same fatal consequences.

CHAP. IV.

QUAKERS, METHODISTS, ANABAPTISTS, MORAVIAN BRETHREN—WILMINGTON.—VISIT TO A MAN INSANE THROUGH LOVE.—BAY OF CHESAPEAK.—BALTIMORE.—FEDERAL CITY.—GEORGE-TOWN.—CONGRESS.—MOUNT VERNON. BETHLEHEM.

AS I have before observed, every mode of worship in Europe is exercised at Philadelphia. It would be contrary to my plan to speak of each in particular. Every one is acquainted with the principles of the Protestants, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and others, all the offspring of one common mother, whose separation has caused much bloodshed and sorrow. I shall confine myself to the Quakers, Methodists, Anabaptists, and Moravian brethren.

The Quakers are more numerous in Pennsylvania, of which they were the original inhabitants. Mr. Penn, who has given his name to this province, was a zealous partizan of this sect, to which he granted particular privileges. The ridicule which has been constantly attached to them can only exist with those, who, observing the exterior, despise every thing which disagrees with received customs.

The Quakers have no churches; they assemble in a building called a Meeting, in which there are no ornaments, and no places appointed for particular individuals; the women only are separated from the men. The men wear their hats, sit down, and remain in meditation, until one of the society, feeling himself inspired, begins to discourse on some part of christian morality. Men, women, and children, are permitted to communicate their sentiments, and are attended to without disapprobation. Like the other sects, they have adopted Sunday for their meetings. They are always plainly clothed, and wear covered buttons, but never follow the fashion, except for some real advantage. Their hats are large, and only taken off when troublesome. The women generally wear dark colours; during winter they cover themselves with a grey or black cloak, which reaches to their feet. The Quakers are supposed to excel the other sects in industry and wealth; they support their own poor; have private hospitals for their sick; and their children are better educated in their colleges than in the public academies.

They neither pay taxes nor bear arms. But as every law may be evaded, so they found an expedient during the war for their independence, to unite their religious principles with the duties of society. When a collector of taxes enters a Quaker's house, he finds upon a table a bag of money, from which he takes the sum required, and departs without leaving any receipt. No one is permitted, under pain of excommunication, to assist at any public spectacle, frequent taverns, or plead. All their disputes are settled by their brethren, before whom the causes of complaint or accusation are laid. Their marriage is as simple as their other ceremonies. It consists in a simple declaration of their mutual intention to live together as man and wife, without being fettered by any vows or oaths. Their marriages are mostly the effect of reciprocal inclination, and the records of their society are said to furnish no instance of a divorce. This society bestows many considerable charities, and sends out a number of missionaries to civilize the Indians of the continent.

The Methodists are as tumultuous as the Quakers are silent; they take in a literal sense the words of scripture, "The kingdom of heaven must be gained by force; cry unto heaven, &c." Their prayers are noisy, and their singing, although agreeable, is remarkable for repeated ejaculations. Their ministers use most outrageous violence of gesticulation. They practise the most furious contortions, and walk up and down a sort of gallery which they mount instead of a pulpit, in a state of delirium. When the preaching is ended, the most zealous of the fraternity utter with a loud voice some of their imaginary inspirations, and the congregation bear witness to the celestial oracles. But the impression is gradual. From gentle expirations, they proceed to sighs, sighs are succeeded by sobs, sobs by loud lamentations, when each abandons himself to every species of extravagance which delirium can suggest.

I cannot forbear describing one of their ceremonies, which will enable us to judge of the elevation to which the human mind may be raised by religious enthusiasm. This ceremony, which takes place every three months, is appointed to receive into their society all those who are convinced of the superiority of Methodism over that which they formerly professed. Twelve women, and as many boys, being presented for admission, all the members began to entreat the Holy Spirit to illumine them. Some cry out, and agitate themselves in the most dreadful manner; others, imagining themselves in the presence of the Holy Spirit, testify their gratitude by immoderate fits of laughter. The new converts soon partake of their delirium, and give themselves up to every extravagance. I could not prevail on myself to remain to the end of the ceremony, which does not finish until five o'clock in the morning.

The Anabaptists are distinguished by their belief that baptism must be, similar to that of St. John, an immersion in running water; and that it cannot be received with advantage until they have arrived at the age of discretion. They are dipped naked three times in the water by the minister, who repeats some prayers suitable to the occasion. Their other worship possesses nothing in it extraordinary. The Anabaptists are less numerous than the Methodists. They are subdivided into many other sects, which only differ on some particular points.

The Moravian brethren believe in a communion with spirits; but in a subsequent chapter I shall mention a work, in which will be found an account of this truly curious and interesting sect.

After a long stay at Philadelphia, I proceeded to the interior of the United States. The Federal Town at which the Congress was assembled, attracted particularly my attention. Being desirous of visiting it, I embarked in a packet-boat, which descends the Delaware as far Newcastle, 40 miles below Philadelphia. The weather was cold; but being very clear, I was enabled to contemplate the whole day the banks of the river. The prospect on the right was beautiful; the lands were well cultivated and adorned to a great distance with country seats; on the left, which forms part of Jersey, it presents only a sandy soil, barren, and uncultivated. Having arrived opposite to Wilmington, the wind and tide being contrary, the captain thought proper to cast anchor, and defer our departure to the next day. I therefore went to view this little town, which carries on an extensive commerce in grain. It is celebrated for possessing the best mills in the United States. At a little distance from this place, the famous battle was fought, which occasioned the capture of Philadelphia by the royalist army.

Its population is about two thousand five hundred; the half of whom are Quakers. There are at Wilmington, a court of justice, an hospital and poor-house. The next day, at ten o'clock, I returned to the packet-boat, and descended with the tide, as far as Newcastle, when I took the stage, and reached Charlestown, in the bay of Chesapeak, where there is a packet-boat, which sets out an hour after the arrival of the stage. The village of Newcastle is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Delaware. At a tavern a little distant from Charlestown, I heard of an extraordinary person, whom most travellers visited. This man, whose real name was unknown, had taken an active part in the war for their independence, and was entirely deprived of his reason through an unfortunate attachment. He sometimes received strangers with kindness, and related to them an account of his misfortunes. At other times, hurried away by the violence of his disease, he spoke and acted extravagantly, although never troublesome to society.

A young Englishman, with whom I travelled, wished to accompany me. Being provided with a guide, we arrived in two hours, just before sun-set. We were informed by his servant that he was on a neighbouring rock. We soon perceived him walking quickly, and talking. At last, being either disturbed by the noise of some dry leaves under our feet, or having finished his discourse, he looked at us, and came to offer us his hand. "Whoever you are," said he, "you are welcome. Come to my cottage, I will relate to you my love, my happiness, for a short time, and the other causes of my grief"

After a frugal supper, during which he spoke confusedly, he made us enter a little parlour, hung round with pictures. "There," said he, is the history of my life; you may read it in an instant. The beauty of the principal person is nothing when compared with the qualities of her mind, and her amiable virtues." I entreated him to explain the pictures. Every one related to the life of his Anna; her birth, her first lesson in music, and the moment he was compelled by his duty to engage in the war. He gave us an animated account of the battle in which he was dangerously wounded while commanding the left wing. Half cured, he had hastened to the arms of his Anna. His reception presented a mixture of love and fear, which was easily distinguished in all his features. After this picture, followed one representing the declaration of his love, their marriage, the birth of a daughter. He passed over these happy moments with joy; but suddenly turning to the opposite side, he shrieked and ran away. We continued to observe them, and saw a long train of misfortunes which had befallen him since his marriage. The death of the parents of his Anna; her long illness, and death. At last we perceived the rock on which we had met him. He was represented with his hand uplifted, and in the attitude of sorrow. Under the picture was written, "Here are the beloved remains; here I shall end my life;—may Heaven shortly put an end to my sorrow!"

The unfortunate man, whom we repented to have so affected, had gone to seek a mat worked by his Anna, on which he hoped to enjoy sleep. What in some measure abated our concern was, to hear that after every time he had related his misfortunes, he continued much better for several days.

The next day, after a sail of eight hours, I arrived at Baltimore, which twelve or thirteen years ago did not contain more than 11000 inhabitants; but at present its population exceeds 30,000, and its commerce ranks it among the most important ports of the United States. Its situation on the bay of Chesapeak is advantageous for the admission of ships of all sizes, at all seasons. This bay extends two hundred and eighty miles up the country. It receives a great number of rivers; among which are the Potowmac and the Susquehana: of these I shall speak hereafter.

Most of the inhabitants are Presbyterians. The Quakers are not so numerous as at Philadelphia. The court of justice, the custom-house, and the guildhall, are fine and well preserved edifices. As at Philadelphia, there are an hospital and poor-house, prison, theatre, and a bank, which was not completed on my departure. The principal commercial houses in Baltimore are Scotch. This active, enterprising, economical, and industrious people, carry with them the love of labour and the arts. Strangers are received here with a politeness uncommon in the United States.

Having remained eight days at Baltimore, I set out for the Federal City, at which I arrived the same day. The lands are of an inferior quality, and the villages on the road are so inconsiderable that there is no necessity of even mentioning their names.

Agreeable to the report of the surveyors, who were appointed by the Congress to examine what position offered most advantages for the erection of a city, it was determined, in 1790, to build it on the river Potowmac, which divides Maryland from Virginia. The act of the Congress which had authorised the establishment of the Federal City, had also voted considerable sums for the erection of the different buildings. The palace of the Congress was begun on a most magnificent plan; but the expences required were so large, that it remains unfinished. That of the president, as well as those of the different chiefs of the government, were to be completed against the first of January 1800, at which time the assembly of the Congress was to be held for the first time in the Federal City.

It would require a volume to relate the extravagant speculations to which this new establishment has given rise. The richest individuals, imagining that people would flock to it from all parts, bought the lands at a high price, in hopes of selling them again at a still higher, or of building houses to let; but how have they been deceived! The Federal City, built on a too extensive plan, will not for many years yield any recompence to speculators.

The Potowmac falls into the bay of Chesapeak. The harbour formed by it is good, and ships of all sizes can navigate it at all seasons. The plan of the city would have been superb, if it could have been executed; but every thing indicates that many ages will elapse before this point can be attained. The palace of the Congress has at present only one wing built, and it appears they do not intend to complete it. That of the president, which is distant above a mile, is finished; but the elegant street which communicates from one to the other, contains only a few houses, indeed handsome, but so distant from each other, that they look more like country houses than those in the principal street of a city destined to be the metropolis of an extensive empire.

The Potowmac, some miles below its entrance, ceases to be navigable. The states of Maryland and Virginia, in proportion to the advantages derived from the Federal City, have undertaken the formation of a canal, by means of which ships will avoid those chains of rocks that render it impassable. The Federal City does not contain above 8000 persons, and they have been less active in building than in most other maritime parts of the United States.

The place opposite to the palace of the Congress would be, if completed, one of the finest in the world. In the centre of this place, which is called the capitol, the statue of Washington was designed to be erected, concerning which so many debates arose in the Congress. But the memory of this truly great man has been well preserved by his numerous friends, who in all the towns of the United States have generously subscribed towards leaving to posterity a monument of their love and esteem for a citizen, whose equal the United States perhaps will never produce. I shall not delay the time in composing his elegy; it is engraven in indelible characters on the hearts of all honest people, who know with what prudence, what courage, and, above all, with what impartiality he served his country.

Georgetown, situated beyond the territory of the Congress, was before the establishment of the Federal City, from which it is only divided by a creek, a very commercial place. It is pleasantly situated on the eastern branch of the Potowmac. Its harbour is good, and capable of receiving merchantmen of all burthens. Its population does not exceed two thousand.

The debate which has so long occupied the attention of the Congress, and which continued during my residence in the Federal City, attracted the attention of every person in the United States. The federalists, strongly attached to the letter of the constitution, maintained that they could not repeal the act of the preceding Congress, which, by virtue of its right, had appointed a supreme tribunal to examine the acts of the different powers against the safety of the republic, and the respect due to its laws. The democrats, on the other hand, affirmed, that the tribunal was only calculated to produce troubles; that its suppression was not contrary to the constitution. Both parties argued with that enthusiasm which party spirit never fails to inspire. The partizans of democracy, like those in France, are generally men turbulent through their speculations, and unwilling to bear any superiority, even of the laws. They are particularly inhabitants of the Southern States, who, being accustomed from their infancy to rule over slaves, to whom a look is a command, display in all their actions this domineering character, which being restrained by the laws, occasions them to be regarded as abusive and tyrannical.

The democrats have raised Mr. Jefferson to the office of president in the United States, and to them he remains firmly attached. It is certain that he performed some services during the war; that he possesses an accurate judgment, and political talents; but it is equally true, that he is blinded by an excessive self-love, which makes him sacrifice every thing to his own opinion. Jealous of maintaining his authority, he has dismissed illustrious and irreproachable men from their appointments, solely because they were given to them by Mr. Adams, his competitor and rival. Those who have obtained them are for the most part foreigners, whose only merit consisted in favouring democracy. Without being anxious to render his country respectable in the sight of foreign nations, he only wishes it to be agricultural, without commerce or political stability. Popular even to meanness, he has taken off some taxes imposed by his predecessor for the support of the army, which he has reduced to 2000 men; and the navy is in such a miserable condition that it can scarcely defend the commerce from the Barbary powers. The public papers are filled daily with complaints of the merchants, who, without any hopes of satisfaction, experience considerable losses. The populace, intoxicated at a small expence, bless the man who has taken off the tax from strong liquors distilled in the interior. Drunkenness is a vice so common among this class of men, that it would have been better if he had tripled the tax instead of repealing it. Mr. Jefferson is the author of a work on the Statistics of Virginia; but his merit is not greater as an author than as the president of the United States.

The Congress fixes the taxes to answer the wants of the republic. It proposes laws, or examines those proposed by the executive power; but before any law can be put in force, it must be presented to the Senate, which either approves or rejects it. The Senate is a superior authority interposed between the legislative and executive powers. Each province returns two members, who must not be less than forty years of age. The law requires nothing more; but those who obtain the votes are generally men illustrious by their superior acquirements, their great fortunes, or the services they have performed. There are yet in the Senate many members of the Congress, who proclaimed, in 1776, the independence of the United States, and some generals who commanded with distinction in the war which followed.

After having remained in the Federal City a sufficient time to be convinced that private interest is the great stimulus of human actions, that the favour of the great triumphs over real merit, and that men who have embraced a party are deaf to the voice of reason; I proceeded to the country seat of Washington.

It was in this place that he passed the latter years of his life, and where he was pleased to reflect on the great interests of a country whose independence he had fought for and established. Mount Vernon would have merited no attention, had it not belonged to Washington. The prospect which commands the Potowmac would have been very delightful if the plain were not sandy, and almost uncultivated. The house is large, but without external or internal ornaments; the gardens are well laid out. The library, selected by this great man, contains interesting and useful books. The cultivator, the philosopher, and the statesman are certain of finding here agreeable companions. The French authors whom Washington seems to have most admired, are Buffon and Montesquieu. The notes which he made on those celebrated works, and which Mrs. Washington permitted me to read, prove that his skill and discernment equalled his civil and military virtues.

After remaining two days with this respectable family, I embarked in a packet-boat for Baltimore, where I arrived the same evening, and the next day proceeded with some foreigners, as curious as myself, to view the establishment of Moravian brethren at Bethlehem. This little town is twenty-eight miles from Philadelphia. The Moravian brethren possess all the surrounding lands for more than two miles. There is only one inn, where strangers are received and well treated at a moderate expence. This little place, which more resembles a convent than a town, contains about eight hundred inhabitants. The mildness of their manners, and the regularity of their lives, are perhaps the most remarkable peculiarities of this sect.

On the day of our arrival we visited the convent, which is superintended by the most respectable women of the sect. The buildings are large and well distributed. Young ladies of all religions are educated there. Their employment consists in needle-work, also music, drawing, embroidery, the study of history and religion. One of the mistresses presented to us purses, portfolios, and baskets. We purchased some, and were informed that the profits were employed in charitable works. My limits will not permit me to detail the religious principles of the Moravian brethren; but I refer the curious to the work of M. De Liancourt. Like the Quakers, they enjoy a well deserved reputation for probity and virtue. They are good agriculturists and honest merchants, and extend their humanity to persons of all religions.

CHAP. V.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE AMERICANS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.—AMERICAN WOMEN.

I COULD not leave this part of the continent, without mentioning the manners, customs, and character of the inhabitants. The maritime cities, which are the rendezvous of all nations, have adopted the English customs. Their wants are increased with their fortunes; luxury has been introduced, and the fine arts, although in their infancy, are much more cultivated than in the interior, where they are scarcely thought of. Employed entirely in mercantile speculations, they possess all the qualities and defects which characterise the merchant. They are laborious, active, industrious, and enterprising. When they deal with each other, they do it with suspicion and distrust. Each is conscious that the other will cheat him if he is able; and that no moral considerations will be suffered to stand in his way. If an honest and ingenuous foreigner has any intercouse with them, he is sure to be made a dupe, and the wily American only laughs at the integrity which he ought to reverence. In the late troubles in St. Domingo, many of the planters entrusted their money, their jewels, and valuables, to American merchants and captains, who fraudulently appropriated them to themselves; and at least nineteen twentieths of these unfortunate persons had reason to execrate their perfidy.

The same suspicion which characterises their dealings with each other, is seen in their domestic concerns. They will not trust even their children or their wives. The men go to market themselves, and purchase every thing that is wanted; and nothing is left to the wife but the interior order and neatness of the house. Economical even to meanness, they only make use of their fortunes to procure wine and spirits. A segar, a gazette, and a bottle of Madeira wine are their only comforts. The Americans spend great part of the day in reading the public papers, of which there are immense numbers. They believe themselves the greatest warriors in the world, solely because they have obliged some savage nations to sue for peace.

The Americans are litigious and quarrelsome. The cool manner in which they defend their causes cannot but amuse a foreigner. In the most important suits you will never see the speaker move his head or his hands, or make the least inflexion of his voice, which may discover him more animated at one time than another. If he is cast, without anger he refers the matter to another court; until he has exhausted all the means of appeal. Their political dissensions assume every day a more violent character.

The Americans are not generally attached to their relations, to whom they seldom afford any assistance. It is not extraordinary to see the brother of a man of fortune in the greatest distress. Their love is always strongest for their youngest child, and disappears when he reaches his twelfth year. When he is removed from school, enough has been done for him; he must then go and provide for himself how and where he is able.

This want of concern originates in the law which deprives the parents of all authority over their daughters at fifteen, and their sons at twenty. Nature wishes us not to be too strongly attached to those objects which are soon to escape us, and to whose happiness we cannot directly contribute. Among all animals she has proportioned the cares of the parent to the wants of the offspring, and has ordained that the attachment of the former shall only cease when the latter do not require assistance. The savage nations observe this law, who forget their children, and are forgotten by them as soon as they are able to procure food and clothing by their arrows.

Such is the general character of the inhabitants of the coasts of the United States, which gains them few friends among strangers, or those that trade with them. There is a great consumption of tea, which is served up four or five hours after dinner. The Americans eat their meat boiled or roasted, and follow, in every respect, the English manners.

Every day convinced me that the women have fewer faults and more virtues than the men. Balls, plays, promenades, and the toilet, entirely occupy their attention. If a young man becomes captivated with a lady, before he thinks of marrying her, he must provide her with every pleasure, and be accessary to all her whims. Certain that their pleasures will terminate on the day of their marriage, they defer it as long as possible, and only yield to the solicitations of their lovers when they are in dread of losing them. I have heard several American ladies answer, to the most sincere declarations of affection, and to most advantageous proposals of marriage, that they had not yet had time to know the world and its amusements; and that they would not retire without having enjoyed them.

The young people are free when single, but slaves when married. Entirely employed in domestic affairs, they only go out to visit their relations, or to church. With the most conciliating serenity they endure the mortification and disgust of a husband, who is generally morose, and often drunk.

The expences of the women are very limited. If any extraordinary luxury is displayed in their houses, it is to satisfy their husbands, who often only preserve their credit by dazzling the eyes of the public.

The American women always suckle their own children, and can hardly conceive it possible how a mother should abandon to a stranger so essential a part of her duty. Female beauty is here of short duration. There are few countries where the women have worse teeth than in the United States.

CHAP. VI.

DEPARTURE FOR LOUISIANA.—LANCASTER.—ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES OF PENNSYLVANIA.—HARRISBURG.—SUSQUEHANA.—CARLISLE.—MOUNTAINS OF KITUCKTUNY AND SEDLING.—BEDFORD.—ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS.—GREENSBURGH.—PITTSBURGH.—RIVERS ALLEGANY AND MONONGAHELA.—COAL-PITS.—INHABITANTS BEYOND VIRGINIA AND THE WESTERN STATES.—COL. BROWN.—CHELLICOTHEE SALT-SPRINGS.

IN the latter end of February I departed from Philadelphia for Louisiana. The winter, which had been very mild this year, had prepared an active vegitation, and the fields had already assumed their verdure. As we had to pass through the greatest breadth of Pennsylvania, that is, from east to west, we took the stage for Lancaster. The country that I passed was superior to any that I had before seen in the United States. The lands in the environs of Philadelphia are sandy and poor, but better according to their distance; and the county of Lancaster presents to travellers one of the sources of this opulence, of which the Americans are so proud. The farm-houses are near each other, and well built. Their exterior announces abundance, and the interior displays the most complete ease without luxury. The Germans, who inhabit them, are economical, industrious, and good labourers. They are accounted the best farmers in the United States, and although far inferior to the English, or even French, in husbandry, may be deservedly styled the fathers of this art in America.

The States are obliged, on account of the great numbers of German inhabitants, to publish the laws and advertisements in the two languages. Notwithstanding the numerous schools, to which fathers are obliged to send their children to be instructed in the national language, the greatest part do not understand sufficient English to be able to conduct their business with those that speak it. Brought up in the bosom of their families, and employed from their infancy in labour and agriculture, they are not anxious for public employments, for which they know themselves unqualified. They prefer an active, laborious, and retired life to distinctions and dignities. If the Germans have not adopted the language of the Anglo-Americans, neither have they been infected with their vices. The only one they have in common with them is drunkenness, which they do not carry to the same excess. They are neither quarrelsome nor distrustful.

On the day of our departure from Philadelphia, we arrived at Lancaster to dinner, although this town is more than sixty-six miles distant. The trade of this country being very considerable, and carried on by land, the States have constructed a road, which is regularly kept in repair, at the expence of travellers. There are five bars, at each of which a trifling sum is demanded. Provisions of all sorts are conveyed to Philadelphia in waggons for consumption or exportation. Lancaster is the market of Philadelphia, and the greatest part of the southern provinces. It is well built, and capable of containing six thousand persons. The assembly of the States have for some time met at this town, being the most central. The inhabitants are, for the most part, Germans and Dutch, and profess the reformed religion. The Roman Catholics are also in great numbers.

Four great streets, ornamented with footways, compose almost the whole of the town. Those which are not yet paved, scarcely permit carriages to pass through them. The States have determined to do this repair, so necessary to commerce, by means of four lotteries, which are to be drawn every year until the work is completed.

The day after my arrival I was present at the assembly of the States. By the politeness of some of the members, I was admitted into the hall, where the door-keeper presented me a chair. I observed that petitions are presented to the president. Having read them, he communicates them to the assembly, who order them, if proper, a second and third reading; or they are referred to a committee appointed to make a report.

The senate is an authority interposed between the governor of the state, and the assembly of the representatives of the people; it is composed of a number of members equal to one-fourth of the representatives.

Each representative, or senator, sits upon a wooden chair, and has before him a little table, on which he places his papers; but many, instead of using it for this purpose, sit upon it, and never change their posture, unless addressing the president; for, by the laws, they are obliged to stand up, and speak uncovered. All the members, when thirsty, go indiscriminately to drink out of a jug which stands in a recess in the hall, and which the servant keeps constantly filled with water. About ten years ago, not more than one or two glasses were to be found in the richest houses in America, however numerous the company might be. Even to this day, in most taverns, every one is obliged to drink in his turn, under pain of being thought unpolite.

There are at Lancaster men of all trades, and it is probable that considerable manufactories will soon be established. The rivers which intersect this country present to speculators means certain of success. On these small rivers five mills are built, which supply the markets of Philadelphia with flour at all seasons. There are some mills, containing six mill-stones, to which five men are sufficient. By a mill of this kind, one hundred barrels of flour will be prepared in twenty-four hours, for which the cultivators receive, besides other necessaries, money, which they employ in the improvement of their lands. At some distance from Lancaster, a numerous and wealthy company has been formed to promote the culture of the vine in the state of Pennsylvania.

Among the different manufactories at Lancaster, is one for rifles, which the inhabitants of the Western countries, and also many Indian nations employ for hunting. It is to these arms that the Americans owe many of the victories which they obtained during the war.

After having remained three days at Lancaster, I continued the road to Harrisburg, which is distant forty miles. The adjacent land is good, and well cultivated; and the houses, although distant from each other, announce the opulence of their inhabitants. They are built of large pieces of wood, carefully made square, and the interstices filled up with stones and mortar. The proprietor consoles himself for the want of their solidity by the facility and small expence of rebuilding them. Elizabethtown, eighteen miles from Lancaster, and Middletown, which is a little farther, are two small villages, badly situated, and badly built. The river Susquehana, which is near Middletown, recompensed us in some measure for the unpleasantness of the road. The left bank presents a fine and rich plain well cultivated and populous. That on the right is bordered by hills, ornamented with magnificent forests, which supply Maryland with its finest timber. Although the Susquehana is only navigable in summer, yet the neighbouring countries carry on an extensive trade with Baltimore

Harrisburg is a small town situated off the left bank of the Susquehana. A market-place, supported by columns, forms its centre. The houses which surround it are built of brick. The court of justice is a large and elegantly constructed building; and the churches rival those of the chief towns in the United States.

It contains fourteen hundred inhabitants; one half of whom are Germans, and the other Americans, who have emigrated from the Northern States. Notwithstanding the pleasure that I received in viewing its environs, I was obliged to leave it the day after my arrival; for the only public conveyance, able to be procured, is the mail-coach, which only goes through it once a-week during bad weather.

Carlisle is only eighteen miles distant from Harrisburg. arrived in it in a few hours, without having seen any thing worthy of notice on the road. It is, in my opinion, the most unpleasant town in the United States. Being built on a dry and unequal ground, surrounded with forests of pines, I endeavoured to discover what could attract the first inhabitants to settle there. I was informed that this place had been chosen during the war for the head-quarters of the American troops, and that the desire of gain had first attracted sutlers and speculators. It contains some churches, a court of justice, and small barracks, which are falling to decay. The water is hard, and of a bad quality. The weather since I left Philadelphia had been mild and agreeable; but the day previous to my departure from Carlisle, it was extremely cold; and during the night there was so great a fall of snow, that the conductors of the mail-coach judged it imprudent to proceed. Having provided myself with a horse and guide, I proceeded to Shippensburg, thirty miles from Carlisle. It is easy to believe, that the country covered with snow could not appear very fine. The forests of pines along the roads, prove the barrenness of the lands. The north-west wind, which blew with uncommon violence, was so cold, that I rather endeavoured to shelter myself than to observe the country. There were scarce ten houses in the thirty miles. Fatigued and benumbed with cold, we arrived at Shippensburgh, which the inhabitants honour with the name of a town, but which cannot be considered more than a village. There are no public buildings; and the inhabitants seem to possess those rustic manners which characterise the people in the vicinity of the mountains.

Through their incivility I was obliged to proceed on foot. The excessive price of horses, which they proportion to the wants of travellers, and the opinions they entertain that Frenchmen will purchase ease at any rate, engaged them not to diminish in their demands. I therefore determined to accompany the waggons destined for Pittsburgh; so that, in case of fatigue or accident, I might be provided with a resource.

I set out the next day, and arrived in a few hours at Strasburgh, where I found carriages waiting for milder weather to cross the mountains. The village of Strasburgh eight years ago contained only three houses; at present, at least fifty. It is situated at the foot of the Kitucktuny mountains, and exactly divides the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Although the cold weather continued, the waggons set out the day after my arrival, and I proceeded with them. The quantity of snow collected in some parts of the mountains obliged the waggoners to make a passage with pick-axes. We crossed very slowly the Kitucktuny mountains, the first of which is most rugged. The vallies are every where inhabited, and the lands are carefully cultivated. The number of waggons which pass this road ensures to the cultivator a sale for his provisions at an advantageous price, or in exchange for other articles.

In five days I reached Bedford, a pretty town, which contains seven or eight hundred inhabitants, most of whom are merchants, or proprietors of land, which they sell to the Irish and Germans, who, having arrived in the United States without means of subsistence, have been obliged to pay for their passage by some years of labour*. At the end of their service they buy land in the distant countries, at a low price, and form, by their industry, considerable establishments. The mountains of Alleghany, which we were two whole days in crossing, are the most lofty in North America; but they are hills, when compared to the Alps and Pyrennées. It is in these mountains that the fine river, which bears this name, derives its source. At Pittsburgh, it unites with the Monongahela, to form the Ohio. On the opposite side of these mountains, I saw, for the first time, maple sugar; of which I shall speak hereafter.

From Bedford to Greensburgh nothing appeared worthy of notice. On both sides of the road establishments are forming, and houses building. The houses are constructed entirely of wood; the doors are hung on wooden hinges; in a word, the builders neither employ earth, iron, nor stone, not even for the chimney, which lasts for many years, with only the precaution of not letting the fire reach the enormous pieces of wood, of which it is composed. The expence of building these houses is a dinner, to which the proprietor invites all his neighbours.

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* This is one of the most considerable trades in the United States. When a captain arrives with a cargo in Ireland, or any other part, he announces that he intends to take on board a certain number of passengers, and carry them to America, for a stipulated sum. Those who cannot pay for their passage agree otherwise with him. He supplies them with necessaries during their passage, and on his arrival, sells their labour. The length of this slavery never exceeds two years for a single man, and four with a family. At the expiration of this time, he is free, and becomes a citizen.

The greatest part of the inhabitants in the back settlements of America have no opportunity of exercising their religion. They are so ignorant and superstitious, that they deliver themselves up to any extravagance when new doctrines are preached to them. A few years since, some Methodists having passed through Pennsylvania, made so many proselytes, that the government, dreading the consequences, desired them to desist. Men and women abandoned their homes and their children, to follow these fanatics, who preached in the fields and forests. Their extravagances exceeded those which I have before related.

Greensburgh, at which I arrived in nine days after my departure from Shippensburgh, is situated on a hill. This place, whose name was hardly known twenty years ago, is at present the seat of a tribunal, and the chief town of a rich county. The houses are built of stone and brick. The interior of the town is almost entirely inhabited by Americans who have emigrated from the Northern States, and Germans. Grain and salt provisions are sent from hence to Pittsburgh, by a small river, which falls into the Allegany.

From Greensburgh I proceeded to Pittsburgh, an ancient French possession, known by the name of Fort Duquesne. It was included in the cession of Canada, and given to the English, who, after the war, restored it to the United States, of which it is at present one of the most important places. The rivers Alleghany and Monongahela meet there, and form the Ohio. At the point of their union Fort Duquesne was built, of which some vestiges still remain. The town contains 3500 inhabitants, all either merchants or artificers. The commerce in grain is very extensive, and the number of emigrants who come to embark for Kentucky prove a considerable source of wealth.

Fish and game are very plentiful at Pittsburgh, and provisions of all kinds are sold at a low price. Madeira wine, and French brandies are the only articles which are dear. Most of the inhabitants distil from rye, or maize, a strong liquor, which they call whisky. This liquor is the most disagreeable I have ever tasted: however moderate its use, it acts powerfully on the nervous system. Grog, which is nothing more than a mixture of this liquor with water, is the favourite drink of this people. It is not uncommon to see men so debilitated, as not to preserve their faculties at an age when they ought to enjoy them in their most perfect vigour.

The coal-pits are numerous and abundant in the environs of Pittsburgh, and the coal is of such a good quality, that the inhabitants burn it in preference to wood, which is considerably cheaper. The small hordes of Indians who live near this town, supply it with goats and young bears, whose flesh is delicate and tender, in exchange for spirits, iron ware, and gun-powder. I remained here eight days, which I employed in hunting and fishing. The game most frequent in the neighbouring hills consists in partridges, pheasants, grouse, hares, and squirrels. The fish caught in the Ohio are the dab, which weighs from 60 to 80lbs; perch and tench. The lands near Pittsburgh, although inferior to those of Greensburgh, are sold at a high price.

Being recovered from my fatigue, I proposed to continue my journey, and embarked in a flat-bottomed boat, whose indifferent construction would only agree with a stream as tranquil as the Ohio. I had here occasion to observe the difference which exists between the farmers of Europe and those of the United States. The European, attached to the country which gave him birth, changes his situation with regret; the American, three or four days before his departure, informs his family that he intends to remove one, and sometimes six hundred miles. Twenty carriages would hardly suffice for the former; two horses are sufficient to transport the baggage of the latter. The sale of the lands which they leave produces the sum required to purchase others. For some years the emigration from the Northern provinces to Kentucky have been so considerable, that it at present contains four hundred thousand inhabitants. The proprietor of the boat was an old man, upwards of seventy. His third wife, whom he was bringing with him, was an Irish woman, brought up from her infancy in the United States. He told me, that he had changed his residence eight times; that he had now determined to remove from the mountains of Monongahela to Saint Charles, near the Missouri, where one of his sons resided. Many passengers told me that they were going to Kentucky, because New England, where they resided, began to be too populous: they also said, that if the land were not agreeable to them, they would go to Louisiana. I think this fondness for change is owing to the retired life which they lead.

The Ohio flows from East to West S. West; it traverses a distance of 150 miles. The boats which the Americans employ are constructed of planks of fir, rudely nailed together. They are covered in a manner to prevent the injuries of the weather. The numerous habitations which I saw during the early part of my voyage, confirmed the ideas that I had formed of this agreeable river, whose banks, ten years ago, were constantly desolated by the incursions of the savages.

The first place of any importance below Pittsburgh, is Weeling, which is distant 100 miles. This little town forms part of the State of Virginia, and does not contain above sixty houses and three hundred and fifty inhabitants. One hundred miles below Weeling is Marieta, a town newly built, which contains above six hundred inhabitants, most of whom are emigrants from New England and Massachuset. There is a court of justice and a church, in which the inhabitants from a great distance assemble. At a little distance from Marieta is a fine island, sufficiently elevated to be secure from inundations, where an Englishman, of an advanced age, probably disgusted with the noise and bustle of life, has built a large and commodious house. Gallipolis, which contains one hundred and sixty inhabitants, is situated on the right bank of the Ohio. The numerous morasses which surround it, render it disagreeable in winter, and unhealthy in summer. The inhabitants are the only remains of six hundred families, who left France in 1790, 1791, to form new settlements on the Scioto. On their arrival in the United States, they discovered that the company which had sold them the lands were only sharpers. They applied in vain to the government for redress; the little knowledge which they possessed of the language and customs prevented them obtaining it. They found themselves 2000 leagues from their native country, without any means of subsistence, except by their industry. Lodged, or rather heaped in huts built for their reception, many perished during the first year. Those to whom any resources were left, employed them to depart; the others remained patiently on a portion of bread and salt provisions, which was granted to them daily by the Congress. At last, after four years of misery, they gave to them a piece of ground, sixty miles below Gallipolis, which being divided among them, produced two hundred and seventeen acres for each. Such were the consequences of this famous emigration, which many men of high rank had encouraged by their example.

The inhabitants of the parts behind Virginia, are unlike any in the world. They live in houses which a single man can build in three days. They do not clear the lands, but content themselves with tapping those trees which are on the spot they intend to cultivate. This operation consists in making a circular notch, of about an inch in depth, around the tree, which occasions it to wither. The maize sown under the trees so deprived of their leaves, receive directly the rays of the sun, and grow exceedingly well. Hunting will for ever remain their only occupation.

I have seen whole families entirely naked, and apparently as contented as those who were not in want of any thing.

Maize beaten and mixed with milk is their ordinary food. The meat which the father obtains by the chase is consumed in a few days, no one appearing to provide for the future. They employ some of the skins of those animals which they kill for cloathing, and the others they exchange for whisky. They seldom remain in the same situation two years.

But it is most astonishing to see men distinguished by their probity and morality, desert their equals, and go to live in the woods. I shall, for example, mention Col. Brown. After having rendered essential services to his country during the war, this brave commander, whose private and public character was equally irreproachable, travelled into Kentucky, which was then almost uninhabited. Being followed by some hunters, of whom I shall hereafter speak, he abandoned his first residence, and buried himself deeper in the forests. The advantageous accounts which he gave of these fine countries, soon attracted a numerous population. He afterwards passed on the Mississippi, and remained in a part of Louisiana, then uninhabited; but some new neighbours arriving he quitted it, and is now on the Mississippi, at a great distance from its mouth, from whence it is supposed he will shortly remove, although he is of an advanced age.

Great Kanhawa, which I next visited, is a village of Virginia, and derives its name from the river on which it is built. It is the most ancient establishment in this part of the Ohio. At a little distance from the entrance of the river is a field, in which, after a great slaughter of the Indians of these countries, the Americans buried their dead, which, from its extent, must have been very numerous.

Chellicothe, about sixty miles of Gallipolis, is one of the principal places in the N. W. Territory. It is built on the left bank of the Scioto, in a fine and rich plain, and the rapid increase of its population, would have placed it among the most important cities, if its inhabitants had not been destroyed by malignant fevers.

It contains a court of justice and a Protestant church. The streets are not paved, but the footways are well preserved.

Between Chellicothe and Gallipolis, salt springs are found of a good quality, and in great abundance. Money being very scarce, trade is carried on by barter.

CHAP. VII.

DEPARTURE FROM GALLIPOLIS. — LIMESTONE. — CINCINNATI.—FRANCKFORT.—LEXINGTON.—VERSAILLES. —LOUISVILLE.—FALLS OF THE OHIO.—INDIAN HUT. GREAT CAVE.—FORT MASSAC. — WILKINSONVILLE.— ENTRY INTO THE MISSISSIPPI. — DANGERS OF ITS NAVIGATION.—ITS RAPIDITY.—SAINT GENEVIEVE.— CAUSES OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT. — CHARACTER OF ITS INHABITANTS.—PIORIAS.—RESIDENTS IN SAINT GENEVIEVE.

ON the 22d. of April I embarked in a pirogue thirty feet long, and three broad. A pirogue is a sort of boat made of a hollow tree, which many savage nations employed at the time of the discovery of America. The sycamore which grows in these countries to an extraordinary size, is the tree most frequently used. When dried, it is extremely light, and useful for no other purpose. Some of these pirogues are so small, that a man, unaccustomed to this manner of navigation, cannot stand upright in them, without fear of falling; others on the contrary carry besides a number of men, provisions sufficient for a voyage of many months.

Maisville or Limestone is the first place of any importance below Gallipolis, from which it is 140 miles distant. Notwithstanding its advantageous situation, it has improved very slowly. It scarcely contains sixty houses. Flat-bottomed boats are built here in great numbers, and are sent to New Orleans in exchange for grain and salt provisions.

Cincinnati, 100 miles from Limestone, is the capital of the state of the Mississippi territory. During the long and fatal dispute between the United States and the Indian nations, which only ended in 1797, it was the head-quarter of the Americans. This town contains about three hundred houses. Slavery, which was not until that time tolerated in this state, has been authorized by the laws. The excessive price of labour has been the cause of this innovation, contrary to the constitution of the United States, and particularly of that of the Mississippi territory.

Cincinnati is the depôt of all kinds of merchandise necessary for the consumption of the back settlements. The inhabitants give in exchange the products of their lands, dollars, and skins. These skins are received in payment by the inhabitants of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and prepared for the consumption of the interior. Fort Washington, which is built at the upper extremity of the town, is the first of the chain of forts which extends as far as the western extremity of the United States.

For a long time I had been very desirous of visiting Kentucky; its rapid increase of population, its immense wealth, and the number of its towns, all excited my curiosity.

Eight miles below Cincinnati, is the mouth of the river Kentucky. On both banks are some ill-built cottages. The lands are, however, cultivated with the greatest care; the beauty of the corn, the activity of the inhabitants, and the number of waggons—in short, every thing contributed to convince me that it merited its reputation.

Franckfort is a small town on the river Kentucky. Since the establishment of Lexington, its population has increased but slowly. It is the depôt of grain and salt provisions which are sent to New Orleans. The number of flat-bottomed boats built here, may give an idea of the astonishing exportation carried on by this country. Last year they exceeded 350, most of which were capable of carrying 250 barrels of 200 pounds weight each. Besides grain and salt provisions, Kentucky trades in tobacco, cordage, iron, potash, salt-petre, gunpowder, and earthen ware. At Franckfort the assembly of the states is held. After remaining in this little town, which contains 1100 inhabitants, twenty-four hours, I proceeded to Lexington, which was distant eleven miles. On my arrival at Lexington, I was not a little surprised to find the houses as well built as any in the United States. The streets are paved and ornamented with footways. The shops are supplied by the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore, who receive dollars and skins in exchange for the productions of the country.

During my residence in Kentucky, I visited all the establishments in its environs, which contribute to the prosperity of the country. I was accompanied by an Englishman, a rich and well-informed proprietor, who foretold all the difficulties to which the cession of Louisiana would give rise. He conducted me to the governor of Kentucky,,with whom I had a long conference on the subject. There are at Lexington 2500 inhabitants, most of whom are emigrants from the Northern States. They are in general more hospitable and sociable than in most parts of America. A taste for the sciences [illegible] the fine arts particularly distinguishes them from the inhabitants of the interior. Provisions are sold at a low price; clothing only is expensive.

Kentucky sends five deputies to the Congress, which, at the rate of 33,000 men for each, gives 165,000 citizens. Those who consider that this country twenty years ago formed part of Virginia, and contained only 8000 inhabitants, will be astonished at its population, especially when they remember that it has not prevented the increase of the other states, although in less proportion. The village of Versailles, which I passed in my road to Louisville, is pleasantly situated, and the land cultivated with care. It is difficult to persuade oneself, that a few years ago trees grew where towns are now built; and that the bear and the panther dwelt in those fine countries which at present contain so many inhabitants. The greatest part of Kentucky, as well as those countries near the Ohio, experience annually great losses in their harvests from the squirrels, of which there are prodigious numbers. To encourage the destruction of these animals, the assembly of the different states has offered a reward for their heads.

Louisville, fifty miles from Lexington, is a pretty little place, containing from 4 to 500 inhabitants. It is built on the banks of the Ohio, on an eminence of more than 100 feet above the level of the river. It is, however, reputed unhealthy, on account of the numerous morasses which surround it. The constition of Kentucky is similar to that of Virginia. Slavery is tolerated, but the slaves are treated with humanity and kindness.

Two miles below Louisville are the falls of the Ohio. They are occasioned by a chain of rocks, which divide the river from one side to the other, and which prevent the passage of vessels at low water. At this place I met with some of my companions who were waiting for me.

From Louisville, the right bank of the Ohio as far as its mouth belongs to the Indians, and we no longer saw any habitations. The land is flat and subject to inundations. After travelling three days, we had exhausted all our fresh provisions, and wished to find some huntsmen, from whom we might procure a supply. In this we were soon gratified. We entered the first cottage we came to, and they presented to us a piece of bear and a turkey, for which we gave some spirits and bread. I shall give an exact description of their cottages.

On six large stakes are placed two poles about ten feet long, which support some light wood. Large pieces of bark, which are joined as regularly as tiles, preserve it from rain; and some bears' skins fixed around it, shelter it from storms. These huts, which are built in less than an hour, are ornamented in the interior with small branches and leaves. Such are the houses of some of the Indians. Others content themselves in strewing leaves under them, and covering themselves with a buffalo's skin, without being anxious for the morrow.

Twenty-four miles from Louisville is Yellow Bank, and sixty miles lower Red Bank. These two places, situated on the left bank of the Ohio, present nothing remarkable. They seem to have derived their names from the nature of the soil on which they are built. The original inhabitants were pirates. The large cave, which is distant only 130 miles from the mouth of the Ohio, is considered one of the greatest natural curiosities in North America. It is about twelve feet above the level of the river, and fronted by cypresses of surprising height, planted as regularly as if they had been disposed by the hands of men. The mouth of the cave is twenty-five feet high and eighty broad; it keeps gradually diminishing to the extremity, which is about 180 feet distant, where the two sides approach each other within six feet. The arch of this vast cavern, viewed by torch-light, has an enchanting appearance. The crystals on the top reverberate the light, and dazzle the spectator.

We next proceeded to Fort Maissac, which was built by the United States in 1781, to protect the commerce of the Ohio from the savages. The fort is at present entirely destroyed. Ten miles lower is Wilkinsonville, where there is another fort. It is the residence of those employed by the custom-house, and is the only one which has maintained a garrison, destined rather to watch the entry of boats, than to exercise military functions. At this place we provided ourselves with a vessel suitable to the Mississippi, and skilful boatmen; and in three hours after our departure we arrived at the mouth of the Ohio. Prior to this, our voyage had been pleasant and agreeable, but it was now troublesome and dangerous; the Mississippi being accounted one of the most rapid rivers in the world.

The Mississippi, navigable to an extent of eight hundred leagues, is indisputably one of the finest rivers in North America. The numerous rivers which flow into it, render its proprietor the sole possessor of all the commerce of the North-West part of this continent. By means of the Ohio, the inhabitants receive the products of the Western provinces of the United States; by the Illinois they proceed to Canada; and by the Missouri, there is no doubt but that they may penetrate as far as the countries near the Pacific Ocean.

It is difficult to describe the rapidity with which the Mississippi flows, when swelled by rain, or the melting of the snow. It is then so great, that boats have often descended from Upper Louisiana as far as New Orleans in six day[illegible] which is a distance of 1300 leagues. Its banks are covered with the trunks of trees, which being concealed by the water, present continual danger to navigators. For this reason, captains are obliged to keep an attentive eye, in order to prevent accidents, which notwithstanding their vigilance often occur.

During the six days that we were in ascending the Mississippi to Saint Genevieve, the first establishment of any importance in Upper Louisiana, the men never ceased rowing from morning to night. In the evening, two of the men lighted a fire and cooked the supper, and dinner for the next day. It consisted of a piece of bacon and maize, which they call *gue*. This they seem to prefer above every thing. Their beds are the skins of bears or buffaloes, in which they wrap themselves in winter, and on which they lie in summer. They make use of a covering of coarse canvass to prevent the bite of insects.

The village of Saint Genevieve, built on the banks of the Mississippi, experienced in 1782 a terrible inundation, which obliged the inhabitants to retire two miles into the country, and build a new village. Its situation would have been more agreeable and healthy, if the houses, instead of being built at the foot of the hill, had been erected on the hill itself. The village contains three hundred inhabitants, most of whom are families that have come from the left bank, since the limits have been fixed between England and the United States. The right bank of the Mississippi, scarcely known fifty years ago, contains only a few huntsmen, who have built cottages near the savages with whom they trade; that on the right is well cultivated and populous. A large village built on the river of the Kaskaskias, the ruins of which only remain, prove that this country, previous to the cession of Canada to the English, contained numerous and opulent inhabitants. The Jesuits had erected an elegant convent, and sent missionaries to propagate their religion among the Indian nations.

But on the conclusion of the treaty in 1763, part of the inhabitants returned to France, some went to Lower Louisiana, and others crossed the river, and formed an establishment in an uninhabited country. This was the first foundation of St. Genevieve. The inhabitants of St. Genevieve are entirely addicted to agriculture. Possessors in common of a portion of land, the fertility of which is wonderful, they sow and reap in a few days their year's subsistence. They obtain lead from the neighbouring mines, with which they procure clothing and other necessaries. Without learning, or the desire of learning, the youth occupy themselves in hunting, riding, and dancing. They live in the grossest ignorance, even of those things which relate to their dearest inte[illegible]ts. The children brought up among the savages, contract their manners, and especially their indolence. The Indians that inhabit St. Genevieve, known by the name of

Peorias, are the remains of a numerous race, almost extinct by war, small-pox, and especially by the use of spirits. Their clothing, which formerly consisted of a small apron, mitasses*, and moksines† made of skins, has been exchanged for a dress of blue cloth, and mitasses either scarlet or blue. Indolent, drunkards, and thieves, they only hunt in order to procure spirits; the rest of their time they spend in eating, drinking, smoaking, and dancing. The women are clothed nearly in the same manner as the men: only instead of mitasses, they use a sort of apron, which reaches to their knees.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAWANONS.—HOMAGE PAID TO THE SUPREME BEING.—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.—COQUETRY OF THE WOMEN.—MARRIAGES.

THE Chawanons, the most numerous and brave of the savages, are divided into tribes very distant from each other. One part of the nation, and that which is most considerable, inhabits the environs of the lake Mechigan; the other is established in Upper Louisiana, where two villages are built, known by the names of the Large and Small Savage Village, the former thirty-six, and the latter forty-eight miles from St. Genevieve. They only go out to hunt in the early part of November.

The large village contains four hundred and fifty inhabitants. It is built on the top of a hill, at the foot of which flows the Pomme river. Their cottages, which are constructed of posts near to each other, and the spaces filled up with clay, defend them from the inclemency of the weather. Active, industrious, and good hunters, they obtain without trouble clothing and trinkets, of which they are very fond. They have always a certain number of horses ready at their doors, to pursue the enemies that come to seize on those that are feeding. They breed cows and pigs, and cultivate maize, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and corn, sufficient for their support the whole year.

They are often engaged in war with the Osages, a numerous and ferocious nation, whom they never fear, except when surprised in the chace. At all other times they never refuse them battle, which has so often terminated in their favour, that they have now ceased to harass them. In the last war which the

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* A sort of pantaloon divided into two parts.

† A sort of sock made of squirrel skins, which reached to the heels, and was fastened with a piece of skin.

United Indians waged against the United States, the Chawanons were particularly distinguished for their intrepidity and hatred of the Americans.

The Chawanons are tall, handsome, and well-made. The women, although not handsome, are far preferable to those of the surrounding nations.

The Chawanons, as well as all the other Indian nations, have an idea of the Supreme Being, which they have received from their ancestors. Twice a year they invoke him with feasting and dancing. Once at the beginning of spring, when the grain is sown, and also when the maize begins to change colour. They believe the immortality of the soul, and that after death they will come to life again in another country, where they will be in want of nothing:—that they will then meet their friends and relations; and that those who have been brave, will be distinguished with the greatest happiness. Generally mild and humane, they treat their prisoners with kindness, and compassion. If they have departed from this principle, it was only during their war with the Americans, at which time they burned great numbers, after causing them to endure every torture which revenge or hatred could suggest. When a prisoner is doomed by them to die, he is in general burned. If this barbarous ceremony takes place in the village, the women prepare the instruments of his punishment, and erect the stake to which the wretched victim is to be affixed. The women, children, and even warriors load him with injuries and ridicule, and after making him pass several times around the village, they conduct him to the stake. They there beat him, and wound him with spears and arrows; the women cut his nose, his ears, and his lips. In a word, they all endeavour to make him undergo a thousand deaths, before they entirely destroy him. During all this, how does the victim behave? Not content in braving the punishments, he encourages his enemies to proceed, laughs at the pain they cause him to suffer, relates to them his exploits, threatens them with the vengeance of his nation, and perishes in the midst of torments, without uttering a sigh.

Of all the savages, the Chawanons are the most attentive to their dress. Like the other tribes, they cut the cartilages of their ears, and lengthen them as much as possible, and suspend from them silver trinkets in form of stars. They wear on their necks large crosses, and on their heads bands and crowns covered with spangles. They use great quantities of vermilion and black, with which they paint their bodies on festive days.

The women wear long hair tied close to their heads, and covered with skin. They are more careful of their children than the other Indian nations.

The young women among them, who have any pretensions to beauty, practise a peculiar kind of coquetry. As soon as they arrive at the age of puberty, which commonly happens before they are twelve years of age, they either keep themselves quite secluded at home, or muffle themselves up so, that when they go abroad it is impossible to see any thing but their eyes. On these indications of beauty they are eagerly sought in marriage, and those that have gained the greatest reputation as warriors or hunters, generally obtain the consent of the family. After this the lover repairs to the cabin, where the beauty is lying closely enveloped on her couch. He gently approaches and uncovers her face, so that his person may be seen. If this be to her mind, she gives a smile of approbation, and invites the youth to lie down by her side; if not, she again conceals her face more closely than before. The lover instantly retires, and no longer thinks of gratifying a passion, which, among this people, is always approved when it is reciprocally felt.

When the nuptial ceremony is ended, the new son-in-law is admitted into the cabin; but is obliged to engage in the chase for the benefit of his father-in-law, till the birth of his first child. He has the power of marrying all his wife's sisters as they arrive at puberty, or of disposing of them to whom he pleases. But the young savage seldom lives long with his first wife. Often before the age of thirty, or thirty-five, he has married and abandoned at least a dozen.

CHAP. IX.

SAINT LOUIS, CAPITAL OF UPPER LOUISIANA.—CAUSES OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT.—ST. CHARLES.—FLORISSANT.—JUNCTION OF THE MISSOURI AND THE MISSISSIPPI.—VIDEPOCHE.—COMMERCE IN SKINS.—DEPARTURE FOR UPPER MISSOURI.—ARRIVAL AT THE KANCES.—TRADE.—OTTOTATOES.—GREAT PANIS.—MAHAS.—PONCAS.—ARRIVAL AT THE WHITE RIVER.—CHAGUYENNES.—DEPARTURE FOR ST. LOUIS.

AFTER remaining a few weeks in Saint Genevieve, I proceeded to Saint Louis, which is seventy miles distant. This is the most important town in Upper Louisiana.

Saint Louis, which, both in population and extent, is equal to Saint Genevieve, ought to be considered rather as a little town, than a large village. The inhabitants, employed in trade and the fine arts, seldom occupy themselves in agriculture. The trade in skins would have rendered this a considerable town under any other government than that of Spain. Instead of adding to its prosperity, they endeavour even to destroy the sources of wealth which nature has placed within their power.

Saint Louis, founded on a rock on the banks of the Mississippi, and considerably above the level of the river, is a highly beautiful and salubrious situation: surrounded by a country of exuberant fertility, it might long since have become the granary of Lower Louisiana; though the indolence of the Spanish colonists hardly produce grain enough for its own consumption. Squirrel-skins are used in place of money. The king alone pays in dollars the expences of the garrison, which does not exceed sixty men, the galley, and the hospital. Saint Louis, as well as St. Genevieve, was only inhabited, forty years ago, by hunters. The same circumstances which induced the inhabitants of Kaskaskias to remove to St. Genevieve, determined those of Kaokias to go and reside at Saint Louis. The village of Kaokias, which derives its name from the river passing through it, was deserted by the French that inhabited it at the time of its cession to England. The country, to a great distance, has been carefully cultivated by the Americans, who have bought it at a moderate price.

St. Louis was very vigorously attacked in 1780, by a numerous party of savages, armed and commanded by the English. Previous to this there was no kind of fortification; but on account of so great a proportion of the inhabitants losing their lives, the government erected a wooden fort on the most elevated part of the town, and planted some large pieces of cannon.

After Saint Louis and St. Genevieve, Saint Charles is the most important place. It is built on the Missouri, three leagues from its mouth, and was the result of the emigration of some families from St. Louis, who, being hunters by profession, came to reside there, in order to be near a country the most abundant in game. But notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, the salubrity of its air, and the richness of its soil, they have not been permitted to enjoy these advantages long. The Americans came in crowds into the surrounding country, which already contains above four hundred families. They would have amounted to two thousand, if the government had not placed bounds to the progress of emigration, by subjecting strangers to the oath of conformity to the catholic church. St. Charles is surrounded with meadows superior to those of St. Louis; and the lands, which are better cultivated, produce corn, barley, maize, potatoes, in a word, every necessary for man and beast. Florissant, which is a village twelve miles farther, was established eight years ago by some of the inhabitants of St. Louis, who were particularly fond of agriculture. From this place the merchants send grain to New Orleans. Florissant would have been more agreeable, if the original inhabitants had not sacrificed every thing to the proximity of a stream, which, however, contains water only half the year. They would live in opulence, if they were able to exchange, at a reasonable rate, the productions of their lands for clothing and other necessaries. The cultivation of tobacco, which the traders are obliged to bringfrom Lower Louisiana and Kentucky, offered to them a resource; but, like the French peasants, they blindly follow the customs of their ancestors, and are enemies to all innovation.

The lands bordering the Missouri in this part of Upper Louisiana are fine, rich, and healthy; and the farther we ascend this river, the more these advantages seem united. The junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi is a curiosity which no traveller can pass by without admiration. These two powerful streams, of which the one is always tranquil and limpid, and the other muddy and turbulent, seem just before their union to dread the approach of each other. Their course, which to a certain distance is entirely opposite, takes an almost perpendicular direction, which continues to the moment of their junction. Then, like a furious enemy, the Missouri rushes on his adversary, which for some time repels him with a tranquil dignity, and permits not their waters to unite; and, except in case of floods after the melting of the snows, the two streams are said to flow for sixty miles without mixing, so that the water may be drunk clear on one side, and muddy on the other.

I had almost finished the chapter without mentioning Videpoche; but the omission would have been excusable. Although built in a pleasant situation, and one very well adapted for commerce, the inhabitants possess nothing worthy the observation of a traveller: they display neither industry nor activity; and if they labour, it is only through necessity.

Videpoche contains two hundred and fifty inhabitants, not including the slaves, who are to the number of about fifty.

The chief commerce of Upper Louisiana is carried on with the savages, who inhabit the parts contiguous to the Missouri. The principal rendezvous of the Canadian merchants on the Mississippi are the Dog-field, which is distant about five hundred miles from Saint Louis, and Saint Peter's River, which is three hundred miles farther. The Sioux who assemble here every year, bring with them skins, for which they receive in exchange gunpowder, guns, lead, vermilion, and trinkets. Being desirous to be acquainted with the manners of these uncivilized nations, and the mode of their dealings with the Whites, I fitted out a boat, and took on board an old trader of the Illinois river. He had formerly been employed by the Company of Upper Missouri, and had ascended this river farther than any one in the country, and was well acquainted with the different dialects of the savages. He informed me of their manners, customs, and ceremonies.

During his residence in these distant parts, the king of Spain offered rewards to those traders that would give him the best account of these then unknown nations. But notwithstanding these, the government have done nothing for the advancement of trade or public information. All these memoirs are kept in the archives, from which I have made some curious and interesting extracts.

On the 18th of May, 1802, having received ten men on board, and loaded my boat with every thing required for the savages, viz. woollen clothing, blue and scarlet cloths, guns, gunpowder, lead, vermilion, copper cauldrons, knives, wines, and silver trinkets, I proceeded on my passage. The banks of the Missouri, for six miles, contain neither villages nor houses; but the lands appear of an excellent quality. At 117 miles from the mouth of the Missouri, is seen the river of the Great Os or Osages. Having ascended it 240 miles, we saw two villages, which were the most populous on the south bank. Thirty miles farther we found their old villages, which are now almost entirely destroyed. They were forced by the Sioux to abandon them, and to retire into the interior.

At a little distance from the old villages, on the opposite bank, is seen the Great River. It is above forty fathoms wide at its mouth, and navigable with boats above 300 miles. We remained here twenty-four hours, in order to renew our stock of provisions, which was now nearly exhausted. Two or three miles from the Great River is a place, called by the savages Wachanto (harbour of serpents). I was desirous of knowing whether it deserved the name, and therefore walked with my interpreter to the place. But on this point I was in a short time perfectly satisfied. We embarked next morning, and arrived in three days at the river of the Kanees. This river is navigable at all seasons to the extent of 500 miles.

The Kanees are tall, handsome, vigorous, and brave. They are active and good hunters, and trade is carried on with them by the Whites without danger.

When a trader arrives at a village belonging to these nations, his first business is to make presents to the chiefs, before he lands his merchandise. He is then permitted to construct his cabin in any part of the village which he pleases, and to open his shop. When the prices of the articles which he brings for sale are once fixed, no variations whatsoever are afterwards permitted. When a savage enters the trader's cabin, he lays down the skins which he has to dispose of, and fixes on the articles which he prefers. Each skin has a conventional value. What they call a *plu*, is equal in value to a dollar. Thus, two goat-skins make a *plu*, an otter's skin two *plu*. As the prices are regulated by the *plu*, there is never any difficulty in the traffic.

All the persons of distinction seemed anxious to shew their regard for me. They feasted me by turns; and, according to their customs, offered me their daughters. I accepted those of the great chief, whom I was afraid of displeasing by a refusal, and made presents to the rest. Among the questions which this people put to me was the following: "Are the people of your country slaves to their wives like the Whites with whom we trade?" Being fearful of losing my credit if I did not appear superior to the other Whites, I replied, that they loved their wives without being their slaves; and that they abandoned them when they were deficient in their duty. The trifling presents that I made to the chief's daughters gained me great reputation for generosity, which in no country can be obtained at a cheaper rate.

After remaining here twelve days, I departed for the mouth of the river Kanees, where we dug a hole, in which we deposited our skins, so that they might not incommode us in our voyage. Thirty-five miles farther we found one of the old villages of the Kanees, and twenty-two miles beyond the other. Three miles before we arrived at the last village we perceived some iron ore. I intended to have essayed it on my return, but an accident unfortunately happening, prevented me. The savannah of St. Michael commences a little higher up, extending to a great distance into the country, and occupying an extent of twenty-four miles on the river. From thence to the Weeping River, (which is one hundred and forty miles distant) nothing is found worthy the attention of a traveller. As I proposed visiting the Ototatoes, and afterwards the Great Panis, I left the boat, accompanied by my interpreter and a sailor, and pursued a path along the forest as far as the river The following evening we arrived at the old villages of the Ototatoes. There were scarce any remains of this nation existing. The Sioux have forced them to retire to the north, where they have fixed their residence for many years. We saw some of them, who received us with kindness, and supplied us with fresh provisions in exchange for trinkets, &c.

If I may judge of the rest of this nation by those that I saw, they are ugly and ill-formed. The Plate River, on which their village is built, is nearly as large as the Missouri; but it is so shallow, and its current so rapid, that it can only be navigated from spring to the beginning of summer. Its sources are in the mountains of Upper Mexico, not far from that of the Santa Fè. We only remained thirty-six hours with the Ototatoes, and continued our voyage on the Plate River to the Great Panis, where we arrived in three days. As there was very little water, the sailors were obliged to raise up the boat, and haul it thirty or forty fathoms on the gravel. We were better received by the Great Panis than we had even been by the Kanees. They were at war with the nation called Republicans, and had only a small number of fire-arms, without any powder. We supplied them with some, in exchange for beavers', wolves', and squirrels' skins. When any one arrives among those nations that are engaged in war, he must be careful not to shew any arms except those he intends to sell, otherwise he will be in danger of having them seized. The Great Panis are not so tall as the Kanees. They are active, and good hunters; and they would kill more game if the Whites came more frequently to trade with them. Their manners very closely resemble those of the Kanees. I was present at the burial of a person of distinction among them; but as this ceremony is the same among all the savage nations, I shall defer the account of it for the present. We only remained eight days among the Great Panis. On our return to the Missouri, we landed at the mouth of the Plate River, at a fort built by the company of the Upper Missouri, in the year 1792. We left there some furs, and proceeded on our voyage. Twenty-six miles higher up is seen the first river of the Sioux. It is navigable only to a small distance, and derives its source near to the Moins, which flows into the Missisippi.

Ninety miles beyond the first river of the Sioux, seven hundred and thirty-five miles beyond the mouth of the Missouri, is the Mahas river and villages. This nation suffered exceedingly in 1801 by the small-pox. The village is situated in a fine plain, one league from the Missouri. The Mahas have nothing to distinguish them from the other savages. They have few fire-arms, and are therefore obliged to restrain their love of war. Although I had no personal motives for complaint, yet I found them less affable than the Kanees and the Great Panis. We supplied them with gunpowder, bullets, vermilion, and trinkets, in exchange for some buffaloes' flesh, of which we salted about three hundred pounds weight.

Two days previous to my departure I was present at their preparations for a war expedition which they were going to make against the Miamis nations. I ate there, for the first time in my life, dog's flesh, with which they always regale themselves on these occasions. Although this food was extremely disagreeable to me, I was obliged to commend and praise it. I frequently enquired of them the reasons of this custom, but could never obtain any thing satisfactory; they said that they derived the custom from their ancestors, and that, if they omitted it, they would fail in their undertaking.

Twenty miles from the Mahas River, is the second river of the Sioux, and sixty miles farther, the remains of the village Petit-Arc. It was built by a Mahas chief of the same name, who, in consequence of a dispute with some of his tribe, came with his family and friends, and formed an establishment. These, after his death, finding themselves too weak to resist the Sioux, who came to lay them under contribution, joined themselves to this nation, from which they are no longer separated. Three miles below the Poncas village is the Rapid River, which is at its mouth seventy fathoms wide. It is so rapid and shallow, that it cannot even be navigated by a boat. The Poncas nation, to which I walked from the Running River, contains three hundred and fifty warriors, notwithstanding the ravages of the small-pox. One of my crew had a pair of silver ear-rings, on which a young savage appeared to have fixed his heart. He offered him in exchange furs of more than twenty times their value. But no offer seemed sufficient, and no importunity could prevail. He waylaid the possessor, shot him in the neck with an arrow, and left him for dead. He stripped off the ear-rings, and proceeded with an air of satisfaction to me, and presented what he had before offered for the trinkets, which were then suspended from his ears. As soon as I was informed of what had happened, I hastened to the spot, and found the sailor motionless, and almost dead; the arrow still remained in the neck. One of the savages extracted it from the wound, on which he laid a plant which he had previously masticated, and made some signs to implore, as he said, the aid of the great Manitou *.

On my return I found the whole crew under arms, preparing to revenge themselves on the supposed murderer. I assured them that the wounded man would recover, and by this means rendered them more calm. The next day he was perfectly recovered, and therefore we judged it proper to embark, and ascended the Missouri as far as the White River, which I had fixed as the boundary of my voyage. We here found a part of the Chaguyenne nation, composed of about one hundred and twenty men. The greatest part of them having never seen a white man, looked at us and our clothing with the greatest astonishment.

At a little distance from the mouth of the White River, I perceived a mountain, more elevated than any of those on the banks of the Missouri. The weather being extremely fine, I took with me two hunters, my interpreter, and a young savage for a guide. When we had ascended it half way, the cold became very sensible, and we had brought nothing to defend us from it. My companions lighted a large fire, near to which we slept during the night.

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* The title which they give to the Holy Spirit.

At day-break we continued, and before sun-rise had gained the summit. The green which surrounded us, presented the appearance *of a calm sea.* Some of my companions having shot a calf and some squirrels, we regaled ourselves on them.

I proposed to employ some little time in raising a monument, which might one day attract the attention of travellers in those distant countries. For want of stone I used wood, and having cut some cedars, 20 inches in diameter, cleared the trunks, and made them square; these we fixed in the ground, so that each side was turned towards one of the four cardinal points. On one side I engraved my name, with this inscription, *Sitis cognoscendi*; on another, those of all my companions; on another, *Deo et Naturæ*; and on the fourth the date of our arrival.

On the 26th of August we set out to return to St. Louis; from which we had been absent three months. When we reached the river of the Kanees, and were occupied in taking on board the furs that we had deposited there, we saw a party of the Sioux approaching; we therefore immediately reimbarked, leaving some of the least valuable furs behind. We had hardly gained the opposite shore when we were saluted with a discharge of musquetry; but night coming on, the savages abandoned their pursuit.

This was the only act of hostility that we experienced on our return to St. Louis, where we arrived on the 20th of September. It is unnecessary for me to say, that after a voyage of four months, during which time I had no other bed but the ground, no other drink but water, I required some rest.

CHAP. X.

TRADE OF THE ENGLISH IN NORTH AMERICA.—TRADE OF LOUISIANA ON THE MISSOURI.—FURS FURNISHED BY EACH NATION.—ADVANTAGES OF FRANCE OVER ENGLAND IN THE FUR TRADE.—DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY THE ENGLISH IN REACHING THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE countries to the north of the United States, which present to the view of travellers nothing but immense lakes, unnavigable rivers, mountains of ice, and desert plains, covered the greatest part of the year with snow, have opened to the English a greater source of wealth than even the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Canada, ceded to the English in 1763, has assumed a new form. The lands, which are cultivated with care, rival all others, and the superb rivers that water it, bring to them, daily, articles of the greatest value. Surrounded by savages, against whose attacks they must always be prepared, the French, only trusting to their own strength, went out from their habitations with fear, and dared not cultivate lands which they were unable to defend. The English, *on the contrary, have obtained friends* ready to assist them, if required. Encouraged by their successes, they have penetrated farther into the country; not a single stream but is covered with their boats, not a lake but they have crossed, although some, from their extent and depth, may be compared to seas. At present they are still advancing; every year increases their trade and their wealth; and their desires seem to enlarge with their abundance.

After the cession of Canada, a resource still remained to France to enter into a competition with England in the valuable commerce of furs. Why did the government, badly informed of its true interests, give up to Spain a colony, expensive to them on account of its bad administration, but which could not fail one day to be of the greatest importance? The Mississippi, which remained in their power, offered sufficient resources to make up for the sacrifices of 1763. But complaints are vain. What the government then did, was thought most advantageous to the general interest.

Trade is carried on by barter with the different savage nations, by whom the greatest part of America is at this day inhabited. Since their intercourse with the Whites, their wants have induced them to adopt a more active life. They have thrown off their old clothing to adopt a new; their bows and arrows have been replaced by guns and rifles; the juices of plants, with which they painted their bodies, have been exchanged for colours manufactured in Europe; and lastly, the refreshing beverage which preserved their healths and lives, have given place to strong spirits, which burn and destroy them. The English, to satisfy these new demands, have established depôts in many parts of Canada; by means of which, the produce of their manufactories is circulated in the western and northern parts of North America: to which the merchants of Upper Louisiana go, at a great expence, to provide themselves with necessaries, in exchange for furs of the finest quality.

The objects of trade are, blue and scarlet cloths, vermilion, guns, balls, gunpowder, copper kettles, knives, black feathers, hats for the chiefs, silver and tin trinkets, and blue, red, black, and white ribands, which are used exclusively by the women.

These are all the articles sent by the English, which are sold to the traders of Louisiana, at a high price. The merchants who come from Quebec or Montreal to this depôt, are subjected to much trouble, delay, and expence, as their boats must be loaded and unloaded thirty-six times, and carried, as well as the merchandise, on the men's shoulders to different distances. From St. Louis, the centre of the commerce of Upper Louisiana, to

Michilmakina, there is not, it is true, but one transportation; but each boat, provided with five men, only carries three thousand weight of merchandise, and cannot return in less than three or four months. Besides the profit of the merchant, which is 80 or 90 per cent. on the London prices; three thousand weight bears an augmentation equal to the wages and expence of five men for four months.

Some, no doubt, will be surprised to hear that five men belonging to the boat, after it is cleared, carry it on their shoulders for many miles: but their astonishment will cease when they are informed that these boats are constructed of the bark of the birch tree, strongly joined with rosin, and supported by slight ribs. These are only employed for the navigation of the lakes and rivers. Some are twenty-five feet long and five broad, and only weigh four hundred pounds.

The nations inhabiting the bank of the Missouri, with whom alone the merchants of Louisiana trade with advantage, are the Osages; the number of whom able to bear arms are, one thousand two hundred; the Kanees, four hundred and fifty; the Republicans, three hundred; the Ototatoes, three hundred and fifty; the Great Panis, five hundred; the Loups, two hundred; the Mahas, six hundred; the Poncas, three hundred; the Ricaras, one thousand. The Mandannes, Chaguyennes, and Maniataris partake very little of trade. They only carry it on by means of other nations, that buy their furs to sell to the Whites.

All these nations united, form a mass of about five thousand hunters, who supply Upper Louisiana in the following proportion: The Osages, eight hundred bundles of squirrel-skins, and one hundred and fifty of fine skins. The Kanees, two hundred squirrel skins, and forty fine; the Republicans, one hundred and forty, of which ten are fine; the Ototatoes, one hundred and sixty, of which 20 are fine; the Great Panis, one hundred and forty, of which 10 are fine; the Loups eighty; the Mahas, three hundred and ten, of which 40 are fine; the Poncas, seventy, and six fine; the Paducas, fifty, and six fine; and the Ricaras, fifty, almost all fine, and of a superior quality, on account of the animals being taken very far north. Thus the commerce with the people of the Missouri amounts to about 20,000 French livres annually.

To the trade of the Mississippi the English can have no claim, since the people with whom they trade pursue their game entirely on the right bank; and their rendezvous are, as before stated, at the Dog-field, and at the mouths of the rivers situated in the territory of Louisiana. The French merchants pass from New Orleans in flat-bottomed boats, which are able to reach any part of the Mississippi, without obtaining an advantage of more than ten or twelve per cent. as well on account of the small numbers of men employed, as their not being obliged to be unloaded.

The English merchandise, on the contrary, from Quebec to Michilmakinas, is increased 25 per cent. From thence to the Dog-field, it experiences an advance of 7 per cent. The French then possess an advantage of 20 per cent.; and do not employ above twenty-five men to conduct the same quantity, for which the English require ninety.

Besides, the boats employed by the English are small, and incapable of carrying heavy loads; therefore, great numbers are required, while those of the French are considerably larger. In the second place, the English require the same time to return as to go, viz. four months; while the French return from the Dog-field to New Orleans in one month.

To render this truth more clear, let us suppose eight thousand weight of merchandise set out from Quebec and New Orleans on the first of August: the English will require sixteen boats, each with four rowers and a captain. That which left New Orleans is embarked in a large boat, which only requires eighty rowers and a captain. The French will arrive in three months, while the English require four and sometimes five.

The nations with whom the English trade on the Mississippi are the Scioux, who furnish them annually with two thousand five hundred bundles of skins, one fourth of which are of the finest quality. The Sucs and Renards also furnish about one thousand bundles of squirrel-skins. The Monis to the number of three hundred hunters; the Oyoa, four hundred and fifty; and the Perans, three hundred; barter about eight hundred bundles, most of which are fine. These nations, who inhabit the banks of the rivers from which they derive their names, are less ferocious than the Scioux, and trade is carried on with them without danger.

CHAP. XI.

GOVERNMENT OF UPPER LOUISIANA.—EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.—PLANTS PECULIAR TO LOUISIANA.—MAPLE SUGAR.—DANGEROUS REPTILES.—BLACK BEARS.—CHASE.—JAGUAR.—BUFFALO.—MAMMOTH, OR AMERICAN ELEPHANT.

THE government of Upper Louisiana, like that of all the other Spanish colonies, is military. Retaining within itself the civil and judicial powers, the delegate of the government may be either good or bad, just or unjust, abuse his authority, or keep himself within the limits of his office. He is in no dread of being reprimanded by his superiors, who are frequently as culpable as himself.

Far from encouraging population, they seem already burthened with the few people that inhabit it. In vain does the Spanish government assert that the interest which it takes in Louisiana, is on account of the produce which it yields; instead of being any advantage, it is a great expence.—But this country is a barrier which the prudent proprietor supports at a great expence, to preserve his fields from a dangerous neighbour. These reasons, specious in appearance, are futile, when attentively examined In the first place, Louisiana produces nothing. I have heard a rich proprietor complain that he had not reaped any thing, when he ought to begin by stating that he had not sowed any thing. One tenth part of the sums expended for forty years would have entirely changed the appearance of this country, if it had been wisely employed. It pays no taxes! but what are moderate taxes to a people protected in their labour and industry? Money in circulation, which is continually returning to its source, far from injuring the prosperity of a country, contributes to the public wealth and opulence. Louisiana is, I grant, a barrier to preserve the rich Spanish possessions in Mexico: but why remove its guardians? Why, under the pretext of religion, stop those that offer themselves, while they ought to be assisted and encouraged? In fact, if there exists a government blind to its own interests, and those of its subjects, it is undoubtedly the Spanish. It is poor, while possessing mines that enrich the universe; without bread, while enjoying the most fertile lands; without manufactures, with thousands of hands unemployed; in a word, without weight in the political balance of Europe, while it has the means of making itself feared and respected.

Agreeable to the Spanish system, the trade with the savages is carried on by exclusive privileges, which the governor-general ought to grant as a recompence for services, but which, in truth, are disposed of to the best bidder. This right of sale is reckoned among the emoluments of the office; the salary of which is barely sufficient to maintain him, although designed to make his fortune.

The exclusive privileges ought politically to be considered as a disease tending to dissolve the social body, by encouraging an estrangement of the people from a government which tolerates them. As relating to commerce, they must be regarded as the source of indolence, and abolition of industry. The Spanish government, in order to justify exclusive privileges, adduces true or apparent motives. In the first place, the necessity of keeping the savages in Upper Louisiana in a state of dependance; so that, on the first symptoms of discontent, all communication might be stopped, and all means of attack or defence removed. Secondly, the immorality of most traders, whose jealousies and competitions daily give rise to crimes; and who often remain unpunished by the facility of escaping the laws. Thirdly, the means which exclusive privileges afford to recompense services to the state, without exhausting its coffers, or diminishing its revenues.

The two former reasons bear in them some appearance of reality, but these are far from counterbalancing the abuses that result from exclusive privileges. As to the third, it is so opposite to received principles, so adverse to good sense and sound policy, that it is scarcely credible it would have been advanced in the nineteenth century. It is only necessary to behold the languid state of Upper Louisiana, to be convinced of the abuse. The inhabitants, jealous of each other, instead of employing means of acquiring property, only think how to destroy it. Those only being respected whom the government favours, they are continually calculating by what calumny or intrigue they may obtain that favour, which alone opens to them the paths to fortune: and when these reflections do not give birth to crimes, there always arises an apathy and indifference, the best consequence of which is an unbounded idleness. From this source flow intemperance, drunkenness, debauchery, gaming, in a word, the total corruption of public manners. Forced to linger in indigence, their talents remain hidden; and those happy dispositions which nature has implanted, produce no advantages either to their families or their country.

Upper Louisiana, situated in a temperate climate, produces the same plants as France, and also some that are peculiar to the country. Among the latter, the maple seems to merit particular attention. This tree, which grows in low and rich lands, furnishes a sweet juice, from which sugar is extracted, although in some degree inferior to that obtained from the sugar-cane. In February and March, the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Western States of America reap this profitable harvest. As soon as the rays of the sun have acquired sufficient force to penetrate the earth, the sap circulates in the maple in such abundance, that it would force an outlet if one was neglected to be made. From this flows a liquor, which being collected by travellers gave rise to the opinion that it contained something more than the common sap of plants. Experiments soon discovered its valuable qualities. The following is the mode of preparing the sugar:—

As soon as the winter has given place to a milder season, the inhabitants who wish to obtain sugar, transport their families to the woods, and there erect huts. Their first care is to provide themselves with troughs., Afterwards they pierce each tree with an auger of about half an inch in diameter. Some require to be pierced in six places, others only in two. When the season is favourable, that is to say, when cold nights succeed fine days, the maples fill the holes so pierced, three times in twenty-four hours, with a juice very strongly impregnated with sugar: but when, on the contrary, the weather is rainy, it loses in quality and quantity. When enough is collected, it is placed in a pot over a fire and evaporated. The residue forms a pleasant syrup, which has been employed with success at Paris, for colds, &c. under the title of the "Sirop du Canada."

It would be difficult to relate the numerous plants which grow in this fine part of the New World. The Indians have no other pharmaceutical preparations than those which nature has provided, and yet there is hardly a wound or bite, however venemous, which they have not simples that will cure. With some of these they will often remove the most obstinate maladies; and even the venereal disease is said, when in its worst state, soon to yield to the virtues of their plants.

I saw an Indian who had been wounded in a skirmish, and continued his retreat with his comrades, though they went at the rate of sixty miles in twenty-four hours. Whenever they halted, one of the chiefs applied a plaister, made of a root, which he bruised in his mouth, to the wound, and fastened it with a thin slip of bark, so as not to impede the motion of the part.

Among their less important plants, are those from which they procure their various and lasting dyes. One plant they have, which possesses so singular a property, as almost to exceed belief. It destroys or moderates the action of fire. A savage made the experiment in my presence. He took a piece of the root, which he chewed for some moments, and then rubbed over his hands. He next took three coals in the state of the most vivid combustion, which he successively extinguished by a gentle friction between his hands, without the least perception of pain, or the smallest appearance of any burn, or excoriation of the part. He afterwards took some coals in his mouth, blew them into a flame with his breath, held them between his teeth, and bit them in pieces without exhibiting any symptoms of pain or injury. The Osages are best acquainted with the mode of using this plant. These experiments may, I think, serve to explain how our ancestors passed unhurt over the different ordeals, to which for various crimes they were condemned.

They have another extraordinary plant, which possesses the property of coagulating water, and reducing it in a few moments to a curdy mass. A few drops of the juice are sufficient for the purpose.

The only venomous reptiles which Upper Louisiana produces, are the rattle-snake and the hissing-snake, or copper serpent; but to these, nature has furnished a natural enemy in the hog, at whose sight they fly, but whom they rarely escape. The black bears, far from being dangerous, furnish when young an agreeable and wholesome food, and when old a great quantity of oil. The chase is most advantageous in winter. As soon as the snows commence, they retire to hollow trees, or excavations in the rocks, where they remain without food or drink until April or May. At this time the chase begins. Four or five men are employed to discover the places where they are hidden. The most intrepid of the company provide themselves with torches and cutlasses, and enter the cave, followed by others, armed with guns or carabines. The bear, benumbed with cold, is only awakened from his lethargy when burned. If surprised while sleeping, he is killed without danger; but, if awakened by any cause, he darts towards the mouth of the cave, overturning every thing that opposes him. He, however, seldom escapes the hunters without, who are stationed for the purpose of intercepting him. Some of these bears yield two hundred pounds weight of oil.

The Jagars, called by the inhabitants of Louisiana panthers are found in great numbers in all the temperate parts of North America. They are only to be dreaded when hungry, or deprived of their young; and then they make the woods resound with their cries. The flesh of the young Jagar is tender and delicate, and is in my opinion preferable to that of the squirrel, or even veal.

The wild bulls or buffaloes were formerly so numerous in Upper Louisiana, that hunters were contented to cut out their tongues, and to leave the carcases for carnivorous animals or birds. This animal, which frequently weighs one thousand pounds, affords excellent meat. Its skin is used by the savages, both as a covering and a bed, and the length of the hair renders it impenetrable by rain. Besides the above-mentioned animals, this country produces game in great abundance. The wilds turkeys here attain a great size, and are found in large flocks. In the autumn and winter, they weigh from twenty-five to thirty pounds. The rivers abound in fish of an excellent quality.

Another animal that seems to have existed in great numbers, in North America, is the Mammoth. The quantity of bones found in different parts, prove that this animal was a native of this part of the globe. Like the elephant, it measures ten or eleven feet in height, and fifteen to eighteen in length. And the impossibility of its being able to reach the ground with its head, leaves no doubt that it received its food by means of a trunk. The only difference of these species seem to consist in the position of their tusks. In the elephant they are flattened, more vertical than horizontal, and placed on both sides of the upper jaw. In the Mammoth they are round, and at some distance from each other. Their substance is different from ivory, being on the surface of a brown colour. They are decomposed by the air, and when thrown into water occasion a bubbling, similar to that produced by calcareous stones. Of this animal various skeletons have been found, between the 35 and 45 degrees of North latitude. What have been the causes of the total extinction of this gigantic race, it is impossible to say: since no animals are known in this part of the continent, able to combat or overcome them. I leave this, therefore, to be decided by naturalists: and only add, that where any bones have been found, they are always in great quantities, so that this animal either lived or fought in companies.

CHAP. XII.

SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—THEIR BELIEF.—WORSHIP.—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.—CUSTOMS AT THE DEATH OF A PARENT.—BURIAL, &c.

THE Ricaras, formerly the most populous nation of North America, possessed thirty-two villages, most of which have been destroyed, either by the Scioux, or the small-pox. The few that escaped formed themselves into one tribe. As well as those farther north, they have little communication with the Whites, and have retained the manners, customs, and dress of their ancestors. Two leagues from the village of the Ricaras, flows the Chaguyenne river, broad but shallow. It derives its source, according to the account of the savages, in one of the mountains on the west. The Chaguyennes, who are continually wandering on both its banks in pursuit of buffaloes, are divided into three hordes, the largest of which preserves the name Chaguyenne; the second is named Ouisy, and the third Chousa. Not content with hunting on the banks of this river, they pass on to the immense savannahs near the Plate River. The lakes and morasses beyond these savannahs abound so much with castors, that they are considered by this credulous people to be the original residence of these animals.

" In the midst of these lakes," say they, " is one much larger than the rest, and to which no animal dare approach. The buffaloes will not venture to graze on its banks, or allay their thirst in its waters. In the middle of this lake is a cottage of an extraordinary size, surrounded by a number of smaller ones, Every night at the same hour, the waters are agitated in a dreadful manner, and a noise heard resembling that of an impetuous torrent. There the king of the castors resides. Two young savages one day being desirous to see this wonderful animal, hid themselves in a thicket, at a little distance from the lake. During three days, they remained there, without seeing any thing, but always heard the noise of the waters. They were on the point of departing, when they suddenly perceived on the summit of the cottage, a beaver of an immense size, and white as a swan, who, after looking around him for some time, cried out, and immediately the waters were agitated: the young men being terrified, fled and told this to their companions."

The Chaguyennes, although wanderers the greatest part of the year, sow near their cottages maize and tobacco, which they come to reap at the beginning of autumn. They are in general good huntsmen, and kill great numbers of castors, which they sell to the Scioux. Many other wandering nations that are allied to the Chaguyennes, hunt in the same country. They are the Cayowas, the Tocaninambiches, the Tokiouakos, the Pitapahatos. The great nation of the Padaws, is only distant twenty-five miles from that of the Ricaras. The Halisanes or Bald-heads, are a wandering people, who hunt on the opposite side of the Plate River, as far as that of the Arkansas, and extend to the foot of the mountains of New Mexico. From the White River, which flows into the Missouri, two hundred and forty miles lower than that of the Chaguyennes, as far as another eighteen miles distant, whose name is unknown, all the eastern banks is occupied by the Scioux or Thous, who are divided into four wandering tribes. This people, who are deceitful and cruel, often plunder the Ricaras and Chaguyennes of clothes and horses, and the Mandanes of maize and tobacco.

The Mandanes, who formerly were very numerous, at present only amount to about three hundred warriors. They are divided into three villages, the most considerable of which is on the western bank, and the two others on the eastern bank of the Missouri. The Asseniboines, a wandering nation on the north of the Missouri, traffic with the Mandanes, whom they supply with guns, gun-powder, balls, &c. in exchange for horses, maize, and tobacco.

One hundred and fifty miles west of the Missouri, is the mouth of a large river called Yellowrock. Its banks abound in buffaloes, and all kinds of deer.

The Savages on the western banks entertain a great veneration for the Whites, and trade is carried on with them in safety. It may be regarded as a certain rule, that the less the Indians have had communication with the civilized nations, the more they are good, generous, and kind. The bad selection of

A girl carried by a big

men to trade with them, soon makes them lose that respect which it would have been so important to have preserved.

Their belief concerning the origin of the world and man, is so closely connected with absurd and ridiculous fables, as scarcely to merit a relation. They all know that there was an original man, but they differ with respect to his creation: some affirm that he came from the bosom of the waters, others from the earth, and that the rays of the sun gave him motion and existence. They all adore a Supreme Being, whom they call the Great Spirit. The following is the manner in which many nations of Upper Missouri say, that they became acquainted with him.

"The ancient savages," say they, "neither knew or reverenced the Great Spirit, neither prepared for him feasts or sacrifices. They had become so wicked, that he resolved to exterminate them, which he effected by lightning. Being moved with compassion towards those that were spared, he resolved to make them good. To accomplish this, he inspired two young girls to go to a little distance from the village. He there plunged them in a deep sleep, during which one was raised up into heaven; the other soon after awoke, but not seeing her companion, she ran to the village, but she could not find her. Men, women, and children, were bewailing her fate, when a cloud of an extraordinary form appeared at some distance, and filled the spectators with terror. On the cloud was seen an eagle, carrying the young girl, whom it placed on the summit of a neighbouring mountain. Upon this they all ran and enquired of her, to which she replied. "Having been carried while asleep into heaven, I found myself on waking, at the feet of a man of dazzling beauty and gigantic form. Young girl, said he, look at me: I am the Great Spirit, Lord of men and animals; with a single word, I give to them life or death. It is to me that men ought to offer feasts and sacrifices, but they do not so. Return to them, and tell them that you have seen me, and what I require of them. Those that are obedient shall enjoy prosperity; those that are rebellious, I will destroy." "Since that time," say the savages, "we have worshipped the Great Spirit, and have offered him the first fruits."

The savages particularly reverence the sun, because it is the most brilliant and bountiful being in nature. They adore the morning star, which they always entreat to be propitious, before they attack their enemies. They respect the cedar, because it is the only tree that remains green during the whole year. The Ricaras every year, on a certain day, plant one of these trees, with great ceremony, at the entrance of the lodges of old men.

In all the villages up the Missouri, there is a large cabin, called

A girl carried by a [illegible]

the Lodge of Old Men, and which is consecrated to feasting, dancing, and religious ceremonies. Here they give audience to strangers, and deliberate on the interests of their nation. It is also called the Lodge of Mercy; for if their most cruel enemy take refuge in it, his life is not only spared, but he is secure from every insult.

When the young men wish to obtain from the Great Spirit the gift of courage, or the favour of killing one of their enemies, they retire to a hill, where, without provisions, they pass several days, uttering all the while the most hideous cries. On the last day of this religious ceremony they cut off a joint of one of their fingers, or gnaw it off with their teeth, and leave it on the hill.

Others bore holes in their arms and shoulders, into which they pass wooden pegs, and to them they attach long cords, from which their military weapons, and many heads of oxen, are suspended. In this state they make the circuit of the village, and having repeated the ceremony for five successive days, they depart for the war.

All the savages believe in a future life. They say, that after death they shall go to a village where all their wants will be supplied; and that those who are the bravest will be dignified with the greatest honour.

They are more or less sensible to the loss of their parents, and express in various ways their sorrow. The Ricaras and Mandanes very seldom bewail the dead. The Scioux, the Tocaninambiches, and the Chaguyennes, are, on the contrary, inconsolable for the loss of theirs: night and morning they bewail around their cottages, sometimes for a whole year. The women cut off their hair, and distribute all that they possess among those that will come and weep with them.

An old Scioux, having lost his son in a battle with the Osages, cut off, every month, a piece of his ears, so that at the expiration of the year, he had nothing left but the orifices.

When a warrior dies, or is killed in battle, his body is rubbed with a red earth, and wrapped in a skin. A hole four feet square is then dug, in which it is deposited. On each side are placed his arms and clothes, and some meat; not that they believe the dead man eats it, but because the custom is derived from their ancestors. The women are interred with less ceremony; whatever they have a particular regard for in their lives is generally placed by their side.

CHAP. XIII.

MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—EXAMPLE OF JUSTICE EXERCISED BY THE SCIOUX ON ONE OF THEIR GREAT CHIEFS.—DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES.—EMPLOYMENT OF THE WOMEN.—WAR OF THE SAVAGES; MANNER OF COMMENCING IT.—RETURN OF A CONQUEROR.—SCALP-DANCE.—SORROW AFTER A DEFEAT.—TRAITS OF COURAGE AND INTREPIDITY.

AMONG the savages little distinction or subordination is known. They live, although in society, in a state bordering on perfect equality, without established laws or judges. They are naturally generous, and will divide their superfluities, or even necessaries, with those that are in want of them. Not anxious for the future, they enjoy the present. The indifference which they shew to riches is the cause of theft being unknown among them. Their cottages are open at all hours, and any one may enter that pleases. There are among them neither liars nor calumniators; and if any one should be discovered in either of these faults, he would be considered as a man of a bad disposition and a bad heart. If any dispute arises among them, they all become judges and mediators.

The savages live in their villages without care. They are always eating, drinking, sleeping, or dancing. They eat their meat roasted or boiled, and drink the broth. If a person who is invited to a feast neglects to come, it is considered a breach of politeness, which cannot be pardoned. They like both to eat and smoke in company. The savages reason with judgment on the affairs of their nation, and the best means of success. In their conversation with strangers, they are grave, and affect to speak in monosyllables. Their ruling passions are, hatred of their enemies, and desire of revenge. Their only ambition is to be accounted brave. They have a memory which nothing can escape. If they see a tree or a stone, which at all excites their attention, they will remember it for ten years to come. This species of memory they never lose.

All their animal senses are in the highest degree of culture and perfection: this is particularly seen in their powers of vision. In the darkest night they will pass the most extensive savannahs and plains, as if instinctively, to the spot which they wish to reach.

Where the European can barely discern the trace of a single footstep, the Indian will teach him that ten, twelve, or fifteen men have placed their feet there, and he will follow the track through the thickest forests, and over the driest rocks, without any deviation. A leaf moved out of its place, or a flint turned up, is sufficient to awaken his suspicion.

The old men, who have been brave in their youth, employ themselves in exhorting the young to follow their example, by stating, that the Great Disposer of Life loves those that are just, generous, and brave; and that he despises the crafty, the avaritious, and the coward. "Imitate," say they, "your ancestors; they were illustrious by their courage: never eat or smoke alone, but divide your provisions among those who have none, and you will be great and respected." They recommend to the women labour and good conduct, and encourage them to marry.

The savages, without possessing any geographical knowledge, mark on skins those countries that they have traversed, and those rivers they have descended or ascended, with a precision scarcely to be credited. They distinguish the north by the polar star, and calculate distances by the number of days employed to reach them. They divide the year into four parts, and reckon the months by the moons.

Although the savages have no laws, yet they have rules of conduct, from which they never depart. In some cases, the old men having deliberated on what regards the public welfare, make it known; if the whole village approves it, it must be executed. When, for instance, a whole nation goes to hunt buffaloes, they select the bravest warriors, and mark out the distance. If any one goes beyond it, he is beaten, and his horses and dogs are killed. Each village contains a great chief, and as many people of rank as there are brave or wise men; to these every thing that relates to the public interest is addressed. A warrior frequently receives as great respect as the chief.

An example of justice exercised on a great chief by a part of the Scioux nation, called Chaony, will shew how a man may deceive this credulous and superstitious people, and also how terrible they are in their revenge. This savage, in a voyage with some English traders, had acquired some knowledge of medicine, so that on his return he was considered by them as a sorcerer. Profitting by the terror that he inspired in some, and the admiration of others, he seized their best horses, bore off their women, and committed other outrages, without any one daring to oppose him. Encouraged by his success, he one day seized two women, who refused to consent to his desires. After having exhausted all the means in his power to seduce them, he darted upon them like a tiger, cut off their noses and their lips, killed them, and scattered their bleeding limbs in different parts. The inhabitants of the village, incensed at this act, unanimously condemned him to death. Without any deliberation they surrounded his cottage, and massacred him. Then they tore his body in pieces, and gave it to the dogs, and set on fire his cottage.

The savages relate many examples of the like punishment; but this will be sufficient to shew, that a person abusing his power among these uncivilized nations, is always punished as his crimes or tyranny deserve.

The savages have no customs that in any shape resemble those of civilized nations. They obey no laws but those of nature. The word politeness is unknown among them, and probably always will remain so. They go into each other's cottages, to sleep, eat, drink, or smoke, as freely as their own. The women lie naked, and often rise on certain emergencies without caring who sees them. They are generally covered with vermin, which they kill between their teeth. They never wash their clothes, but suffer them to rot upon their backs; they never cut their nails; and eat, without any repugnance, out of the same dish with their dogs; and what renders them particularly disgusting to the Whites, they rub their bodies with the fat of the meat which they eat.

The savages eat their food raw, and without any seasoning. They very seldom employ any salt, and never any herbs that are strong to the taste, like spices, although they are very abundant in their countries. They are extremely fond of idleness, and almost always eat in a recumbent posture. The children, far from respecting their fathers, often ill-treat them with impunity. To beat a child, say they, renders him a coward, and deprives him of that courage which characterises a warrior.

The women, among all the nations of Upper Missouri, are considered as subaltern beings, created only for the wants and pleasures of man. Besides the work in the interior of the cottage, which naturally devolves on them, they cultivate the lands, carry water, and cut wood. If they go to the chase, they must carry on their backs the animals that are killed.

The children at fifteen are permitted to go both to the chase and war. The women suckle their children as long as they wish. Immediately after birth, they are wrapped in a soft skin, and laid upon a piece of bark, which is suspended by four ropes from the roof of the cabin. On this the mother, by a gentle motion, sends the child to sleep. When the infant begins to acquire strength, they carry it on their backs, fastened by the same skin as is employed for the bed. They even work with these burthens in the most laborious manner. The savages are

War of the savages

tall and swift walkers. The men have a long visage, bright eyes, and aquiline nose; but the women are, on the contrary, ugly. The surprising agility of the men is imputed to the necessity of exercising themselves in the chase, or in escaping from their enemies.

The chief, and sometimes the only motive of the savages for commencing war, is the desire of glory and praise, which is bestowed on the man who achieves any brilliant exploit. The warrior is respected more than the legislator, and the conqueror more than the philosopher who silently labours to alleviate the miseries of human life.

Another still more powerful motive is, the love of revenge. This passion is so violent among them, that if two nations are once enemies to each other, they will never be reconciled, without having previously done to each other the greatest possible injuries.

The old men and mothers constantly relate to their children those that have been killed by any tribe, and exhort them to be brave, and seek revenge. This desire, which increases with their years, seldom fails to produce its effects, which again give rise to murders and revenge.

Among the savages of North America, any one may form a war-party, and put himself at their head; the chief of such an expedition is called the leader. When these leaders have not acquired any military fame, they are seldom accompanied by any except their relations, or some who are desirous of making their first attempts. Those small parties, termed marauders, set out in the evening, and return in a short time, when they have only seized some horses from their enemies.

The chiefs of the first class determine to commence war either to revenge an insult offered to themselves; or at the entreaty of the old men, to revenge the death of their sons; or at the solicitation of some young men, who are anxious to acquire fame, and have them for leaders.

In the latter case, he who solicits this favour, after having walked several times weeping around the cabin of the warrior, enters, holding in his hand a pipe filled with tobacco. Without uttering a word, he sits down by the fire, and places the pipe at the feet of the warrior, and awaits his answer. If he intends to accede to his solicitations, after a long interval he takes up the pipe, lights it, and smokes; after which he returns it in silence to the person who brought it. If he intends to refuse, he throws the pipe from him, after stating the reason for such refusal.

The chief who has accepted of the pipe, or who has formed the intention of commencing war, chooses a day, on which he prepares a feast, (commonly of dog's flesh,) to which he invites the bravest of his nation. He informs them of his intentions. Many successive days are employed in the same manner.

On the evening preceding his departure, the last feast is made in the cabin of the great chief, to which all his followers assemble, and the war-mat is displayed. This mat is made of the feathers of different birds, stained red; to which is affixed a blade of white maize. This is worn round the neck of the great chief.

When the hour of departure arrives, which is always at day-break, the chief goes from his cabin with tears, and awaits, at some distance from the village, his companions. As soon as they are all met, he ceases to weep, and then, assuming a martial tone and air, harangues his little army. He always walks last both in going and returning; and only carries his arms at the moment of battle.

The young men light the fires at the time of encampment, carry wood, construct cabins of bark or rushes, fetch water, and roast the meat. It is astonishing to behold the activity with which the wishes of those whom they have made their superiors, are complied with.

The war of the savages is a war of surprise; and in this consists the chief talent of the warrior. He who can attack his enemy while unprepared, is sure of overcoming him. They take every precaution to conceal their marches, send scouts, and pass through low lands as much as possible, in order to prevent being seen. Small companies only go out in the night, and during the day conceal themselves in the woods. The scouts are generally covered with skins of wolves, or other animals. If they perceive any footsteps, they immediately give a signal to the chief, who halts, and deliberates what is best to be done. If the footsteps are those of men, he deputes some of his most skilful attendants to follow them, until they reach their cabins or village. This is executed with a patience which only belongs to savages. Having followed the track, and reached the cabin or village, they examine which side is best suited for attack, and return to inform the chief. They remain during the night at a little distance from the enemy, and as soon as the dawn begins to dissipate the darkness, the chief gives the signal by firing a gun, or drawing his bow. All the warriors follow his example, and make the village re-echo with their shouts. The enemy seldom resist this unforeseen attack, but seek safety in flight. During the heat of action, men, women, and children, are indiscriminately massacred. After a great slaughter, some are taken prisoners, who are employed as slaves. Formerly they sold them to the Whites, but this trade has been prohibited by the English and Spanish governments.

The action being ended, the conquerors scalp those that are killed, plunder the vanquished, seize the horses, and hastily retire; marching day and night until they reach their own country. Certain that they are then secure from danger, they halt and divide the spoil. When the conquering party is within one day's journey from the village, they light fires on elevated grounds, as tokens of success. Upon this, all the old men advance, to hear an account of the expedition; after which, the chief commands them to go and announce it in the village. The women, on hearing it, make the air resound with their songs. The old men carry the scalps fastened to long sticks painted red, and are followed by the warriors, who are thanked for having revenged their nation, and are held up as examples to the youth. In short, they all seem more like drunken people, than those animated by any sentiment of pleasure: these demonstrations of joy being ended, the scalps are deposited in the Lodge of Old Men.

The women and children that are taken prisoners, never experience any bad treatment. The savages of Canada, on the contrary, either burn or eat theirs.

On the following day, a great feast is prepared for the warriors, and the old men announce the scalp-dance. On this, the women adorn themselves in the finest manner; and the warriors assemble at the Lodge of Old Men, and again relate the particulars of their victory. Afterwards they depart, carrying with them the scalps and their prisoners. Three old men follow, bearing each a kettle-drum. They are met by the women, who proceed with them to the destined spot; the men form a circle, and place the women before them. A fire is then lighted in the centre, near to which is laid a large piece of meat, an ox's tongue, a scalp, and a human heart dried. Silence being procured, the oldest men begin the song; which being ended, three old men advance; one takes the meat, another the tongue, and the third the scalp and heart; and holding them up, they walk three times round the fire, and then cast them into the midst of the flames. To this succeeds the dance, which continues for many days.

As the savages celebrate their victories with the most extravagant marks of joy, so do they also bewail defeats with the deepest sorrow. Some never cease lamenting the slain, until their deaths have been revenged. Others are only afflicted for a few days, and then are comforted by the old men, who remind them that those killed in battle will be received by the Great Spirit with the greatest honour. These principles are so deeply engraven on their hearts from their earliest years, that fathers often rejoice at the death of their sons, and wives at that of their husbands.

If a chief, formerly victorious, should avoid death by flight, all his property is seized, and he lives alone, despised by his whole nation. The contempt is so great that none ever return under such circumstances. Before I conclude this chapter, I shall relate some distinguishing traits of courage, which prove how little the savages dread death, and how highly they prize and esteem honour.

The Ototatoes, during their summer chase, were attacked by a numerous party of Halitanes, and were on the point of being taken prisoners, when a young chief of the Ototatoes, named Blue Eyes*, who was mounted on a horse, advanced into the midst of the combatants, and desired the action to be suspended. He then challenged the bravest of the Halitanes to fight with him hand to hand. They laid down their spears, and only kept their daggers. After remaining some moments, deliberating where it would be most advantageous to strike, they both rushed forward and seized each other, aiming at the same time many blows. The Halitanes, seeing their chief ready to fall under the superior force of the Ototatoe, pressed forward and extricated their chief, half-dead with his wounds, from his grasp. The Ototatoes also ran, but too late to save their valorous chief. Both expired at the same instant; upon which the Halitanes were put to flight, after experiencing a considerable loss.

If the foregoing proves the intrepidity, the following will also the coolness and firm resolution of this people in moments the most perilous.

A party of eighty Chaguyenne Indians had attacked eight or ten families of the Halitanes, with whom they were at war, and defeated them without difficulty. Enough, however, escaped to give the alarm to a large village of the same tribe in the vicinity. In a moment all the warriors mount their horses, and proceed to the spot, where the Chaguyennes are off their guard, and busy in collecting the spoils of the vanquished. Hardly twenty men of their little party survived the unexpected attack, when one of their warriors, by the following noble display of sagacity and resolution, saved both their lives and his own. He had observed a ravine near, where the horse of the Halitanes could not penetrate; here he retired with his little troop, whom he ordered to dispose their fire-arms near him. He was not willing that any should discharge them but himself. When any of the enemy approached, he took his aim with so much coolness and precision, that every ball told. His own party had nothing to do but to keep loading his guns. Enraged by this obstinate resistance, and ashamed of being vanquished by such a handful of men, the Halitanes dismounted from their horses, cut down some bushes, which they held before them as a protection, and advanced. The Chaguyenne chief instantly adapted his plan of defence to the new mode of attack. He made his people resume their arms, but ordered them not to fire till the enemy drew very near; and then only half to fire at once, in order to give time to those that had fired to reload their pieces. This manœuvre was so promptly executed, and succeeded so well, that the assailants, most of whom were wounded, made a precipitate retreat. The great chief of the Halitanes, inflamed with revenge, and stung with shame, resolved to kill the Chaguyenne chief with his own hand, or to perish in the attempt. With his buckler and his lance he rushed impetuous towards the foe, who awaited his approach with a serene look; and when he got so near that he could not miss his aim, the Chaguyenne warrior discharged his piece, and struck his enemy in the heart. He instantly fell dead; and his comrades retreated in dismay, without attempting to offer further molestation to the return of the Chaguyennes.

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* The savages derive their names either from their general form or appearance, or from those animals that they most prefer.

CHAP. XIV.

TREATIES OF PEACE.—MANNER OF CARRYING THE CALUMET*.—RECEPTION OF THE WARRIORS SENT WITH THE CALUMET.—CALUMET-DANCE.—SUN-DANCE.—OX-DANCE. — DRESS—HABITATIONS—COMPLEXION AND TEMPER OF THE SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—THEIR ARMS.

TWO savage nations seldom resolve to make peace until they have done the greatest possible injuries to each other. That nation which is in want of the privilege either of hunting on the other's lands, or of exchanging various articles with them, commonly makes the first proposals.

In each savage village there are some, who, through caprice or marriage, have left their own nations to come and dwell among strangers, by whom they are considered, especially in war time, as natives. These are employed to carry the first proposals of peace.

After mature deliberation on the advantages and necessity of peace, they send by the ambassador a leathern bag filled with tobacco, and tied with a cord, on which are made as many knots as there are villages in the nation with whom they wish to treat. He enters in the night as secretly as possible the cabin of the chief, to whom he explains the motives of his embassy, and presents the bag of tobacco. The next morning the chief convokes a meeting of the old men, warriors, and others of distinction, and relates to them the message, gives his opinion, and presents the bag. If the assembly think proper to accept of it, the bag is presented to some one of the warriors, who is known to bear the most violent resentment against the nation that has made the proposals; he unties it, takes out some tobacco, and fills his pipe. After this ceremony, the chief informs the ambassador that they may bring the calumet, and that they will be kindly received; if the terms are not acceded to, the bag is returned untouched. When peace is agreed on, one of the nations deputes a chief, who is accompanied by, at least, twenty-five warriors. Previous to their departure, all the chiefs and people of distinction assemble at the Lodge of Old Men, and the calumet is taken from the mat in which it is wrapped, and carried by one of the bravest, with marks of extraordinary respect. The deputies are then intructed what to do. During which time a large kettle of meat is placed on the fire, and the calumet is filled with tobacco, which must only be smoked by the nation with whom they are treating. The tube of the calumet is painted blue, the symbol of a serene sky. When the meat is cooked, a servant * divides it into pieces, and presents it to the warriors and others in the cabin. Before any one begins to eat, the most distinguished person present cuts three pieces, and, taking them in his hands, entreats for success to the embassy, and then casts them into the flames. At the close of the feast they all smoke: and the person who is to be the bearer of the precious object receives it, standing, from the hands of the chief.

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* Calumet signifies a pipe.

When they have arrived within sight of the village, they announce by signals their approach, and remain until a warrior comes to invite them. They then advance a little, and are met by the nobles, bearing or leading the presents, which generally consist of horses or arms. The ambassador having made them smoke, the children offer the presents; after which the chief invites them to enter.

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* Men apparelled like women, and are not only made to perform all the low drudgery to which the savage women are condemned, but are even employed to gratify certain unnatural propensities.

The bearer of the calumet is made to sit on a fine skin, in the most honourable place. The warriors of both nations intermix, and give and receive marks of friendship. They serve up the meat, maize, gourds, potatoes, &c. After the repast, the proposals are related, which often consist in securing to them the privilege of hunting on their lands, eating or smoking together, and of exchanging with each other various articles.

These things being granted on both sides, they promise to live amicably, and the calumet is smoked by the whole assembly. The ambassadors return in few days to the village, and carry the news of their success.

The savages have different sorts of dances, which differ either by the ceremonies which precede or follow them, the actions they represent, or the objects for which they are designed. The principal ones are, the scalp-dance, of which I have before spoken, the calumet-dance, the sun-dance, and the ox-dance. Their gravity in these amusements bears such a decided contrast with their quick motions and burlesque appearance, that a foreigner is unable to discover with what sentiments they are actuated.

The calumet-dance only takes place when two or more nations, or parts of the same nation, are encamped near each other. The following is the mode of making the proposal.—One of their chiefs, attended by five or six warriors, goes to the chief of the nation with which they wish to dance, holding in his hands the calumet filled with the best tobacco he is able to procure. He lays it at his feet and invites him to smoke. If he agrees to the proposal, he takes up the calumet, lights it and smokes; then the warriors express their gratitude in the most extravagant manner. They send for the chief's children and caress them. If he rejects the proposal, he refuses the pipe, and desires them to defer the dance to another time.

The chief who has consented to receive the honour of the dance, assembles at his cabin all his relations, and entreats them to assist him to do honour to the dance. All are desirous to offer him whatever they possess, which commonly are horses and arms. The chief sends an old man to exhort the women and children to generosity, and assist them to render the feast worthy of his reputation.

The next day, the dancers holding in one hand a calumet, and the other a kettle-drum, leave their cabins, preceded by the chiefs and nobles, carrying also drums. The women follow, bearing the presents, which, when a circle is formed, they lay at the feet of their husbands or fathers.

The old men go and bring the chief and his children. He is seated in a place prepared for him, and his children are placed on four bundles of odoriferous herbs, resembling in form a large eagle's nest. A vase filled with water is then brought, and one of the nobles having added to it a handful of herbs, sprinkles their heads and faces, after which he wipes them. This ceremony is called adoption, and that which attaches the father and children for life to the nation. After the adoption, the women advance, and paint the children with vermilion and other colours.

Two dancers at first walk round the circle in a slow pace, but in a short time gradually quicken their steps, and at last end in making contortions incapable of being described;—imitating, say they, at one time, the flight of the eagle when he darts upon his prey; at another, when he is combating a weak enemy; and at another, when he is gliding through the air.

The more their gestures are extravagant, the more is the assembly enlivened. The delirium increases with the rapidity of their motions, until the spectators follow the example of the dancers. Generosity then is carried beyond bounds, presents are mutually made, and they strip themselves without thought for the morrow. The chief is at last obliged to stop their course, by snatching the calumet from one of their hands. On this the dance ceases.

The horses designed for the dancers are then brought, and presented to them by the chief. He is afterwards conducted with his children back to his cabin.

The sun-dance is not practised by all the savages, or all those that inhabit Upper Missouri. It exclusively belongs to the Scioux of the Savannahs, to the Chaguyennes, Tocaninambiches, and other neighbouring nations, who particularly reverence this luminary.

On the day appointed for the celebration of this festival, a large cabin is erected in the middle of a meadow. The chiefs and old men are placed in the most distinguished places, while the women and girls, having their faces painted with colours expressive of gaiety, occupy the others. The bravest warriors are distinguished by the quantity of their ornaments; and no one who has not killed a white bear, is permitted to wear a necklace made of its claws. This is a particular mark of distinction, because the white bear is the only animal in North America that will attack a man before it is wounded. They are so ferocious, that they will sometimes enter in the night the villages, and destroy the inhabitants in their cabins.

When they are all assembled, a large fire is made at some distance from the cabin, around which are placed caldrons filled with meat. The chief then announces, that it is time to offer the presents to the sun; and immediately arms, caldrons, skins, in short, the most valuable articles are brought. These preparations must be finished before sun-rise. As soon as his rays begin to gild the horizon, the old men commence the song to the sound of the drum. The youth of both sexes, holding calumets, begin the dance in the cabin, while twelve naked boys dance in the open air, pointing to the sun. One of them holds a calumet adorned with the most scarce and brilliant feathers. The dancers in the cabin sometimes desist to take refreshment; but those on the outside keep pointing to the sun, until he disappears, without any provisions. This festival is sometimes repeated for ten successive days, if the weather continues fine.

When the dances are ended, the presents are divided among those warriors that are in want of them.

I could never learn any precise reason for the first institution of this festival. They imagine that on this luminary depend the strength and courage of their warriors, the health of their children, their prosperity and population; that he alone is able to preserve them from disease, and cure them of their infirmities; and that he provides them with buffaloes, so necessary both for food and clothing.

Gratitude seems first to have given rise to this religious ceremony, the design of which cannot be too much applauded.

Two nations, near to each other, often amuse themselves with the ox-dance, for which there is no determined season or day. If a village wishes to celebrate the ox-dance, fifteen or twenty warriors assemble in a cabin, dress themselves in their war-habits and arms. They place on their heads the skin of a wild ox, to which the horns are affixed, and the whole is fastened on by a piece of skin decorated with porcupine's quills.

In this dress the warriors proceed to the place designed for the dance, accompanied by singers and drums. At one time they bellow and raise the dust with their feet, at another they pursue each other, and at another they push with their horns. These sports are continued with various gestures and attitudes for half a day, and sometimes longer, without the least signs of fatigue; but, on the contrary, they never desist without giving fresh proofs of their activity, swiftness, and supleness. During the dance, the old men exhort their nation to make presents to he warriors, which are generally very considerable.

All the inhabitants of Upper Missouri, both old and young, go naked during the summer. A deer-skin, which they wear over their shoulders, similar to a Spanish cloak, serves hem both for covering and ornament. Those belonging to the youth are ornamented with porcupines' quills, and painted various colours. They are alike insensible to the heat of summer, and cold of winter. However, when the earth is covered with snow, and the winds blow violently, they wear mocksines*, and cover their bodies with a skin.

They have no particular way of wearing their hair, which is generally long and in disorder, except on festive days, when it is carefully bound up. Some stain it with the juices of different plants, and adorn it with porcupines' quills. All the savages have, in their infancy, their ears cut, and their parents take care to introduce into them round pieces of wood or brass wire. The Mandanes, Halitanes, and Corbeaux, are the only nations that do not follow this practice. They wear all their ornaments round their necks. It is difficult to imagine to what a length the cartileges are extended. I have seen a Miami savage, whose ear-rings, although not longer than three inches, reached down to his breast. Many wear the similar ornaments in their noses.

The women are covered with a skin, which reaches from their shoulders to their feet. They are ornamented with porcupines' quills and small glass beads. Their ears, like those of the men, are pierced and adorned with trinkets, but the cartileges are not lengthened. The young women paint themselves with different colours, but vermilion is generally preferred.

The savages of Upper Missouri are divided into stationary and wandering. The stationary tribes are those who constantly remain in their villages without going either to war or the chase; while the wanderers derive their whole support from the pursuit of animals, and carry with them all their property, without troubling themselves about agriculture.

The stationary nations construct cabins, round and terminating in the form of a cone, and large in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. The tents of the wanderers are made of buffalo's skins sewed to each other, which terminate also in a cone. They have four wheels, and are drawn by dogs. The nations of Upper Missouri have not received either arms, clothing, agricultural instruments, or any tools from the Whites. They boil their meat in earthen pots of their own manufacture. A sharp stone strongly fixed in a wooden handle serves them for a hatchet. To obtain fire, they rub two pieces of wood, one soft and the other hard, violently against each other, till they emit sparks, and are received on some dry branches of the pine or ash. Their plates are made of wood; and the baskets, in which the women carry maize, of bark, or young branches of the willow. The women employ the bones of the ox for various instruments: the nerves for sewing; and the skins, besides beds and tents, are made into boats, by means of which they descend rivers and cross lakes. The arms used by all the inhabitants of Upper Missouri, are, the lance, the bow, and the club. The points of their arrows are small sharp stones; their quivers, squirrels' skins; and the string of their bow, the nerve of an ox. Another weapon made use of, is called by them a wakaton; it consists of a round stone inclosed in a piece of skin; to this is sewn another piece of about one foot and a half in length, and fastened to a wooden handle. When engaged on horseback, they with their weapons strike their enemies while at full speed.

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* Skin-shoes in the form of socks.

The savages are, in general, tall and well made. The Scioux of the Savannahs are the handsomest, the bravest, and the most agile; but, at the same time, the most cunning and deceitful. The Chaguyennes, nearly as handsome, and not less brave, are sincere and frank in all their dealings. The savages of both sexes are of an olive colour; have long black hair, white and good teeth, and their breath is as pure as the air. They carefully pluck the hair from their chins and bodies, that they may not, as they say, resemble the beasts of the forests. This has led some writers to affirm, though erroneously, that nature has refused them this mark of virility. There are scarcely ever seen any that are lame, or deprived of any of their senses. They are unable to carry heavy burthens, but are indefatigable in walking. Dropsies, apoplexies, palsies, gout, asthma, consumption, stone, &c., are unknown to these men, who would extend their career of life to a greater length, if they escaped the scourge of war, and refrained from suicide;—for it is not uncommon to see old men stabbing and hanging themselves, either because they are unable to accompany the young men to the chase, or want strength to revenge themselves on their enemies.

CHAP. XV.

AMOURS AND MARRIAGES OF THE SAVAGES.—REFLECTIONS ON THE SAVAGE LIFE.—COMPARISON BETWEEN IT AND THAT OF MEN LIVING IN SOCIETY.

IT would be both too long and too deficient in interest, to enter into a minute detail of the amours of each savage nation. I shall only relate the customs generally observed by the chiefs, who are scrupulously attentive to follow their ancestors. When a young man wishes to marry the daughter of a chief, he applies either to his father, or some one of his relations, who goes and entreats the father of the girl to consent. A definitive answer is never given before all her relations have been consulted. They examine how many brave men and good hunters have been in his family. If he is not in possession of these qualifications, the marriage is broken off; if he is, he gains the unanimous suffrage of the family. After this, they are entreated to supply the necessary expences.

Previous to this time the young man has never entered the cabin of the girl; but on the next day he is carried in triumph to his wife: and her relations, after having made him eat and smoke with them, inform him that he may come and live with her when he pleases. A few days after the marriage, the girl's brothers enter at an early hour the cabin where the new married couple have slept, and drawing the husband from his bed, place him on a mat in the middle of the cabin. An old man then brings a vase filled with water, and having washed him from head to foot, paints him with vermilion, and covers him with a skin. His brothers-in-law supply him with arms, and he is not received into the family until he has a child; then, and not till then, is he permitted to build a cabin, and live where he pleases. Polygamy is tolerated among all the savages, without being attended with any inconvenience, as the women are always accustomed to consider the men as superior beings, to whose pleasures and wants they must be subservient.

The Scioux, Chaguyennes, and Tocaninambices, are extremely jealous of their wives; while the Mandanes, Ricaras, and other nations of the north, hold in no estimation conjugal fidelity. The women are generally kept in a state of slavery, and are never permitted to be present at any feast.

The first consequence that naturally flows from contemplating the savage mode of life, is, that man is born for society; but the second, truly afflicting, is, that the ties of this society can only be strengthened at the expence of individual liberty.

It is placed beyond a doubt, that before the human species was so prodigiously multiplied in some parts of the globe, men lived in a manner closely resembling that of the Indians of the new continent; without other nourishment than the flesh of animals supplied by the forests, without other drink than water.

Let us follow an Indian through the different stages of his life, and compare them with those of a man in a civilized society. When a child, he is in no dread of parents or tutors. He learns, through necessity and example, to support, without complaint, hunger, thirst, and fatigue. As soon as he attained the age of puberty, (which is generally at fourteen or fifteen) he begins to feel the stimulus of his passions. Love is the first; but the savage having no laws to moderate its effects, both sexes yield themselves without reserve, and live together as long as they find in it their happiness; but when that ceases, they peaceably separate.

In civilized society, as well as among savages, love is the first passion: but how much anxiety does it occasion to the man living in the former! Uncertain of the sensation which he experiences, is agitated without knowing the reason. He loves, without knowing the object of his affection; a vague desire troubles him, envenoms his pleasures, and interrupts his repose. When he has discovered the object of his choice, how much trouble must he take to inform her of it! Should he please her, how much opposition must he expect! If he obtains her, he, in a few months, discovers that her temper is opposite to his own; he is deceived; love is converted into hatred and contempt: he would wish to avoid the cause; nature tells him that he may, that he ought; but the laws of society, stronger than nature, command him to bear his chains, and not lessen their weight, until death separates them.

The only passion which opposes the happiness of the Indian, and which he cannot always gratify, is revenge. Continually engaged in war with the neighbouring nations, each tribe, each individual, has his particular motives of hatred, which descends from father to son.

But, in other respects, what a happy state of existence! During winter, he remains in the bosom of idleness, in his cabin with his wife and children; and in summer under a tree, or on the banks of a river. If he has any wants, they are supplied by his bow. If attacked by any mortal disease, he bears it with patience, and quits life without regret for the past or fear for the future. If he falls by the hands of his enemies, he rejoices that he is about to enjoy an happiness unknown on earth. When old, he is exempt from infirmities. Having nothing to leave behind him, no one is looking for his death. By how many contrary passions are men in civilized society actuated! they are as numerous as their diseases. Look at the ambitious man, to whom every thing has succeeded beyond his wishes: the universe resounds with his exploits; not a people but their repose has been troubled by him; not a country but he has inundated with blood: the earth is not sufficient to gratify him, he desires another world, in which he could spread terror and death. The miser perishes over heaps of gold, gained at the expence of his health and repose; if he were in the possession of the mines of Mexico, he would be in dread of losing them, and yet desire more. The envious or jealous man cannot for a moment enjoy tranquillity of mind. The intemperate man, without being satisfied, perishes in the midst of his excesses; while those, whom a more noble passion, the love of science, stimulates, die without saying life has been long enough,

The cultivator or artisan must every day think on the wants of his family, which perhaps he is not able to relieve. If attacked by disease, who will comfort him? If he dies, who will take care of his children? If he attains old age, who will support him? If he has amassed wealth by his labours, his heirs regard each day as a thief! If he is poor, those to whom he is a burthen look forward to the moment of his death! Thus, men in civilized society pass their lives in following after shadows, without enjoying any real pleasure, and frequently die, regretting the past and dreading the future. It is certain, that many Whites have renounced the charms of a civilized life, to enjoy an unbounded liberty with savages; while we have never yet heard of a savage, who has renounced the pursuits of his youth, or sacrificed his pleasures to a civilized life. These people may be conquered, but no power on earth can make them laborious cultivators or artizans.

CHAP. XVI.

DEPARTURE FROM UPPER LOUISIANA.—CAPE GIRARDOT.—NEW MADRID.—FORTS.—RIVER AND VILLAGE OF THE ARKANSAS.—NATCHEZ.—ROCHE A DAVION, OR WILKINSONVILLE.—RIVER AND ESTABLISHMENT OF WASCHITA.—MONOPOLIES OF THE SPANISH COMMANDERS.

THE excessive heats common to Upper Louisiana in the months of August and September having abated, I determined to set out in the early part of October for New Orleans. Cape Girardot is the first place of any importance that I met with in my descent down the Mississippi. It is about eighty miles distant from St. Genevieve. Above one hundred and fifty Anglo-American families live there, dispersed over a great extent of country, where they cultivate corn, barley, maize, potatoes, and cotton, which are of a good quality, when the frosts do not set in very early.

New Madrid, one hundred miles from Cape Girardot, is of some consequence, on account of its situation. All the boats which descend this fine river, are obliged to stop there, declare of what their cargoes consist, their destination, and shew their passports. This place, as well as Cape Girardot, is under the controul of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana. Near to St. Genevieve, are many salt-springs, which supply not only the inhabitants of Louisiana, but also Tenessee, Cumberland, and a part of Kentucky, from whence they receive iron, cordage, &c. in exchange.

From New Madrid to the forts, which are distant two hundred miles, there are but few houses. The forts belonging to Spain are almost in ruins, but those of the United States are better, and contain a garrison of twenty-five men. Both are, however, sufficient to defend the soldiers from the insults of the savages, who are their only enemies.

Two hundred and fifty miles farther, is the mouth of the river of the Arkansas, reputed the richest in Louisiana, on account of the fertility of the adjacent country, the beauty of the meadows, salt-springs, game, and mines. Having ascended it forty miles, I arrived at the village, which is advantageously situated on the left bank. The inhabitants, almost all originally French, who have emigrated from Canada, are hunters by profession, and only cultivate maize for the support of their horses and beasts of burthen. Above half the year, only old men, women, and children, are seen in the village. The men hunt wild oxen, castors, and squirrels, whose skins are less valuable than those in the northern countries. When at home they pass their time in dancing, drinking, or doing nothing: similar in this respect to the savages, with whom they live the greatest part of the year, and whose tastes and manners they contract.

The Indian nations that come to hunt on the river of the Arkansas, are the Osages, handsome and brave, but deceitful and cruel; the Panis, sworn enemies to the Whites; the Chawetas, and Chicawchas, the most numerous nation in North America, but ugly, cowardly, cunning, and deceitful beyond expression. The Spanish government maintain among the Arkansas a garrison of fifty or sixty men, commanded by a captain. After remaining in this village, which does not contain above four hundred and fifty inhabitants, only a sufficient time to procure the necessary information from the commander, I rejoined my boat, which I had left at the mouth of the river, and proceeded on my voyage down the Mississippi. From thence to Natchez, the navigation offers nothing either agreeable or interesting. Immense forests border the river, and the banks, but little elevated, are inundated at least once every year.

Natchez is the only important place possessed by the United States on the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio. It contains twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants, freemen and slaves. Most of the proprietors are enriched by the culture of cotton, for which the lands are extremely well suited. The town, which is built on high ground at the distance of one mile from the river, contains fine houses and rich shops. It is the staple of all kinds of merchandize necessary for the southern colonies. Almost all the proprietors of this little state, being emigrants from the southern provinces, have brought with them the political principles there professed. They are Federalists, consequently not favourers of the present president. Natchez is cultivated in an extent of fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. The air is healthy, the climate agreeable, and it may be presumed, that it will shortly be one of the most powerful and populous provinces of the United States.

The last post of the United States on the Mississippi, is Roche à Davion, where the Americans have built a fort, called by the name of one of their generals, Wilkinson. Here the head-quarters of their small army are established. There are also some armed vessels for the defence of the place. All the vessels that descend this river are obliged to stop here, and declare to what nation they belong, and the nature of their cargoes. Those that ascend pay here the duties on their merchandize, if destined for the American part. Some miles below Roche à Davion, are the limits marked out by Spain and the United States, in 1798. It is a road thirty feet wide, and its direction exactly from east to west: it crosses the lands belonging to the Chicasaws, and divides the two Floridas from the States of Georgia and South Carolina.

At a little distance from the limits, on the opposite bank, is the Red River, so called from the colour of the earth suspended in it. After ascending it thirty miles, the mouth of the Waschita is seen, which, in a course of at least five hundred miles, waters a country, rich, elevated, healthy, and abundant in minerals. The navigation is difficult, on account of the falls, which, in dry weather, almost entirely obstruct its course. Rapides, five miles from its mouth, is a small place, which has received its name from its situation on a part of the river, where enormous rocks accelerate the current. The settlement of Waschita is one hundred miles farther, and is one of the finest places in Lower Louisiana. Capable of producing all the plants that are cultivated in the southern parts, sugar excepted, it possesses the inappreciable advantage of salubrity over all the others bordering the Mississippi. The cold, although very supportable, is sufficiently sharp to destroy insects, and purify the air; while the great heats of summer soon ripen the cotton, indigo, tobacco, and rice. Wheat, and all other grain, grows very fine. Spain keeps there a garrison of about thirty men, commanded by a captain. I cannot here forbear mentioning a species of tyranny exercised over the people, by men in the employ of the Spanish government. One can hardly believe that officers would degrade their rank by becoming servants to their soldiers, in whom they can only inspire contempt. In all the Spanish colonies taverns are prohibited; the commanders alone have the privilege of selling strong liquors. It is not uncommon to hear a captain, or even a lieutenant-colonel, enjoying this privilege, order a bottle of rum to be given to a soldier, when he at the same time knows that before the end of the day he will be obliged to punish him for excess. Besides this, they claim the exclusive right of furnishing the inhabitants with articles necessary for their consumption. This disgraceful monopoly exists more or less in all the military stations, excepting those of Upper Louisiana, where the governor has preserved the delicacy of a true French soldier, and the commanders under him are too far distant from Spanish manners to imitate such a bad example.

CHAP. XVII.

NATCHITOCHES. — BATON-ROUGE. — POINTE COUPEE. — ACADIANS. — GERMAN COAST. — ATAKOPAS AND APELUSAS. — CULTURE OF INDIGO REPLACED BY THAT OF SUGAR.

At about four hundred miles from the mouth of the Red River, is the settlement of Natchitoches. It contains from twelve to thirteen hundred inhabitants, who cultivate cotton, maize, rice, and tobacco. The latter is reckoned the best in North America, so that the king of Spain bought it from the proprietors at a great price; but he has been so deceived, that he has declined it for many years, which has occasioned the cultivation almost entirely to cease. Besides these productions, many of the inhabitants traffic with the neighbouring Indian nations. Some miles below the mouth of the Red River, on the opposite coast, is the small fort of Baton-rouge, occupied by some Spanish soldiers, under the command of a sub-lieutenant. This fort is of so little importance, and the number of inhabitants so small, that I shall not delay the time in mentioning it.

Near to this is Pointe Coupée, the first post which has the title of parish in Lower Louisiana. Its inhabitants cultivate cotton, for which the lands are well adapted. The houses which border the two shores, present an agreeable prospect to the traveller, fatigued with beholding dry sands and immense forests. In all Lower Louisiana, the shores of the river are alone susceptible of culture, but must be defended from inundation by means of banks. The lands in other parts being low, are a great part of the year covered by the rains, which fall during spring and a great part of summer.

The upper part of Pointe Coupée near the Mississippi, is inhabited by the descendants of the Acadians, who left their native country in 1714, when France gave it up to England. They seem to have remained in the same mediocrity in which they were when they first arrived in this colony. Their houses seem rather designed for the abode of animals than men; and their children, badly clothed, attract very little the attention of their parents. The Acadians are kind and hospitable; they never suffer a stranger to enter their houses, without offering to him refreshments; but he must be very hungry before he resolves to eat what they prepare.

Forty miles below Pointe Coupée, the chief objects of culture are cotton and rice; most of those that grow the latter are Germans, the ancient inhabitants of the colony, who live in ease on the produce of their lands. They are, like the Acadians, kind and hospitable to travellers, whom either business or bad weather has obliged to land on their coast, which has retained the name of the German Coast.

The inhabitants of Louisiana give the name of *bayou* to a sort of canal, which communicates from a river to the sea, and which at low water often remains dry. By one of these canals, I arrived at Atakapas, and from thence to Apelusas. These two settlements, which are reputed the most considerable of Louisiana in the interior, extend to the west as far as Natchitoches, with which they communicate. Apelusas, in a low and unhealthy soil, contains about eight hundred inhabitants; while Atakapas, whose lands are rich, elevated, and healthy, contains at least two thousand. These two settlements produce cotton in great quantities, maize, rice, &c. The inhabitants are active, laborious, and good cultivators. In each there is a garrison of about fifty or sixty men. The pecuniary importance of these posts, as well as all those on the Mississippi, occasions them to be sought with the greatest eagerness by superior officers, who in a few years are enabled to retire on a considerable fortune.

At the southern extremity of the German Coast, that is to say, at about sixty miles from New Orleans, orange-trees are seen growing in the open country. Below the German Coast they formerly cultivated indigo, which although inferior in quality to that of the more southern colonies, sold at an advantageous price. Without speaking of this valuable plant, the description and preparation of which may be found in works on agriculture and chemistry, I shall only observe that there is an insect peculiar to this country, which, in the space of twenty-four hours, often destroys the finest crop, has powerfully contributed to make its cultivation cease in Louisiana.

This culture has been replaced in all the low parts of the colony by that of sugar, whose easy sale insures to the inhabitants a more certain and not less profitable revenue. During the dreadful troubles that depopulated St. Domingo, the dispersed inhabitants sought in all parts means of escaping the misery which pursued them. Some thought that Lower Louisiana, where no trials of cultivating sugar had been made, would produce it in abundance, and that the climate, although subject to sharp frosts, would, however, permit them to manufacture it with advantage.

The sugar manufactured there is good, but inferior to that of the more southern colonies. The reason is, that the canes, instead of being ripened by heat, are forced by the white frosts, which never fail to take place in December. These frosts have two inconveniencies; first, to diminish the quality of the canes, which cannot remain more than nine months in the ground; the second, to destroy the crop, when too early.

Among the natural productions of Southern Louisiana, I must particularly notice the wax-tree. Although it has never yet been much attended to, it cannot be doubted, that the wax will become an important article of commerce. A French chemist, who had resided for many years at New York, discovered a simple and cheap process to render it as white as that of bees. The approbation which he received from the United States, must add to the value of this tree, and the propagation of it in all parts of America where the climate is favourable.

CHAP. XVIII.

ARRIVAL AT NEW ORLEANS.—LA SALLE.—IBERVILLE.—ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ORLEANS.—CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO M. DE CROZAT.—ABANDONED TO SPAIN.—ORELLI.—BUILDINGS, POPULATION, AND POLICE OF NEW ORLEANS.—GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—COMMERCE OF ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION.—TAXES IMPOSED ON LOUISIANA.—ENUMERATION OF THE ARTICLES ON WHICH THEY ARE AND OUGHT TO BE LAID.—DEFICIENCY EXPERIENCED ANNUALLY BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.—CONTRABAND COMMERCE.—TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

NEW Orleans, at which I arrived in six weeks, does not merit a favourable description. All that can be said in defence of its founder, is, that there is not for a great distance a finer, more elevated, or healthier position*. New Orleans, on the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly one hundred miles from its mouth, stands on an island formed by the lake Pontchastrain and the Iberville river. The houses, built above eight feet below the level of the river, are only defended by art from the periodical inundations.

Iberville appears to be the first, who twice ascended the Mississippi, with some ships granted to him by Louis XIV. La Salle, who some years before had sailed down it, had, on his return to France, obtained from the government a small squadron, with which he endeavoured to revisit the mouth of this river; but driven by winds, often very violent in the gulf of Mexico, he landed at a considerable distance to the west, where, after suffering fatigues and hardships, he miserably perished by the hands of the savages, who were excited to this act by some of his subaltern officers. Better informed or more fortunate, Iberville left some adventurers on the banks of the Mississippi, supplied them with provisions, clothes, and some trinkets necessary for trading with the Indians, and returned to France. On the report made by him to Louis XIV. of the wealth of this new discovered country, the beauty of its situation, and the advantages which it promised, the king granted him fresh assistance. Many adventurers joined him to settle in these countries, and the government sent there some thieves and robbers, who were happy to escape by exile the punishments they deserved.

On his return to the Mississippi, Iberville found the men that he had left there in the most deplorable condition. Some had perished by the savages, some by reptiles with which this country abounds, and others by the excessive heat of the climate. Those that survived had constructed cabins, which they surrounded by stakes, to defend them from the incursions of their enemies. His return inspired them with fresh hope and courage. He treated with the neighbouring nations, made them presents, and obtained from them a promise that his countrymen should not be molested in their settlement, to which he gave the name of New Orleans: but his premature death put an end to his labours. Disturbances arose in the colony; jealousies gave birth to parties, animosities, and disorganization. Instead of pursuing the necessary labours, each busied himself in planning modes of injuring his neighbour. Things were in this deplorable situation, when M. de Crozat, in 1712, obtained from Louis XIV. a grant of the province of Louisiana. It comprehended both banks of the Mississippi through its whole length, a part of the Ohio to the Miami, and extended as far as lake Erie, on the borders of Canada.

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* If higher, it would be too distant from the sea; if lower, subject to inundations.

During the few years that M. de Crozat possessed it, he attracted some cultivators, and took with him a crowd of adventurers. Of all the inhabited parts of the New World, no one has been peopled so slowly as New Orleans. In vain did the government, after the death of Louis XIV. offer advantages to the colonists; none but those who were without resources, or exposed to the vengeance of the laws, would go to the Mississippi.

It is difficult to imagine how much this colony suffered by the war which terminated in 1763, by the cession of Canada to England. Left to their own strength, without resources from the mother-country, the inhabitants of New Orleans had no means of obtaining clothing. At last, after five years of misery, peace restored them to abundance, and attracted new settlers.

During the two years which followed the cession of Canada, great numbers of French who were established there, abandoned it to go to a country where they might live under their native laws. New Orleans had become a considerable staple, when France, from a mistaken economy, transferred it to Spain. From that moment, affairs assumed a different aspect. The taking possession of it, which Orelli signalized by his perfidious cruelty, not only put a stop to the increase of population by the arrival of new settlers, but induced many rich proprietors to desert a country, whose new master acted as a tyrant. In vain did Spain recall him; the first impression was too strong for the recollection of it to be hastily effaced.

The whole town was destroyed by fire in 1788, and the greater part in 1794. The houses are at present built of brick, and contain about twelve thousand inhabitants. New Orleans is the seat of the superior authorities of Louisiana, which are vested in a governor and overseer. The former *, a foolish old man, who governs the colony according to the will of his son, a pragmatical and ignorant young man. The latter, a man

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* It will appear scarcely credible, that he published a decree the same year that I arrived, by which he forbad inoculation, as opposed to religious principles. Above six hundred children and slaves fell victims to this absurd prejudice, which has been, and still continues to be, the scourge of the government.

of low extraction, who carries to excess his hatred towards the French, whom he injures solely for the pleasure of injuring. The governor has converted every thing to money. The places given by his predecessor, have been sold: he has turned out men of known integrity, and replaced them by rogues; and has done every thing to disgust men of honest intentions.

There is only one monastic institution for men at New Orleans; and they hide their depravation and ignorance under the garb of religion. There is also a convent of nuns, where young girls are instructed.

The town is not paved, and probably never will be while under the Spanish government. The markets, for want of proper ventilation, emit putrid vapours; so that it is likely, in a few years, either the yellow fever, or some other contagious disease, will destroy a great number of the foreign settlers; even the natives are often attacked.

The Creoles of Louisiana have not lost, under a foreign government, either the love of the mother-country, or the tastes which characterize its inhabitants. They yield themselves to pleasure in excess. Feasting and gaming occupy all their attention. This latter appears the most predominant. They are humane, affable, and hospitable. The Creolian women are passionately fond of dancing. The men, being brave, bold, and enterprising, nothing pleases them so much as the military uniform, which they wear at thirteen or fourteen. The government employ them in the militia, or in the regiments of Louisiana. They are often cadets five or six years before they gain the rank of sub-lieutenant: but this is no inconvenience, the epaulette is that which flatters them.

Thus, in this country, as every where else, man is ambitious to command others, at an age when he is incapable of commanding himself.

Louisiana, which neither produced corn nor pulse of any kind, was supplied before the war by France, when the inhabitants went under Spanish colours to provide themselves with necessaries. But for more than ten years, the Americans have been able to supply them. They receive in payment dollars, which they send by horses and waggons to Philadelphia. They furnish them with clothes, furniture, and other merchandize, and receive in exchange sugar, indigo, and cotton.

All the taxes imposed in Louisiana by the Spanish government, are confined to six per cent. on merchandize imported, and products exported from the colony. On this head, as on many others, the policy of the United States is preferable to that of Spain. The taxes on the merchandize which they manufacture, as well as on the products of their lands, are almost all taken off; while those on merchandize imported, are in inverse proportion to their importance. The articles of luxury are still more highly taxed; thus agriculturists and manufacturers are encouraged, and the rich taxed in proportion to their fortunes.

However inefficacious the laws enacted in Louisiana might be, it is probable that they would have been adequate to the government of the colony, if they had been distributed with economy. But contraband is carried on, notwithstanding the smallness of the tax, which obliges the King of Spain to send considerable sums annually. The expences and revenues of the colony, may be calculated in the following manner:—

	Livres.	*Sols.*
In 1801, there was exported from Louisiana, 30,000 cwt. of cotton, which, at 120 liv. per cwt. the common value, amounts to - -	3,600,000	0
Raw sugar, 84,000 cwt. at 27 liv. 10s. per cwt. -	2,490,000	0
Indigo, 3371 cwt. at 600 liv. ditto - -	2,022,600	0
Tobacco, 7800 cwt. at 40 liv. ditto - -	312,000	0
Squirrel skins, 3000 cwt. at 200 liv. ditto -	600,000	0
Castor ditto, 18 cwt. at 500 liv. ditto - -	90,000	0
Lead ore, 4000 cwt. at 30 liv. ditto - - -	120,000	0
Sheet lead, 450 cwt. at 75 liv. ditto - -	33,750	0
Planks for the Havannah - -	256,000	0
Sugar casks for the above - -	194,600	0
Mules, horses, oxen, and cows, for ditto -	600,000	0
Timber for ditto - -	96,000	0
Total of all the entries made at the Custom-house of New Orleans, in 1801 - -	10,414,950	0
To this may be added at least $\frac{3}{5}$, to equal the sums not declared - - -	6,244,970	0
Total livres	16,659,920	0
Imports entered at the Custom-house, in the course of the same year - - - - -	5,478,598	0
Total livres	22,138,518	0
But as the contraband on this part is more considerable than on the products of the colony, this sum may fairly be doubled - -	5,478,598	0
The amount of taxes collected is - -	27,617,116	0
Which will produce, at the rate of 6 per cent.	1,706,171	3

The expences fixed by the government are as follows:—

	Livres.	*Sols.*
Expences of administration	290,000	0
Payment of troops	1,095,000	0
Administration of justice	160,000	0
Religion	126,000	0
Forts	96,000	0
Artillery	116,000	0
Presents to the savages	440,000	0
Unforeseen expences	100,000	0
Custom-house	240,000	0
Marine	178,000	0
Total livres	2,841,000	0

All the sums on which the taxes are effectively raised, amount on the one part to	10,414,950	0
And on the other to	5,478,598	0
Total livres	16,893,548	0
It follows that the King of Spain only receives from this colony	953,432	12
And that he will be obliged to send annually	1,887,567	8

The reform necessary to be made in all parts of the administration, both military and civil, also the presents to the savages, to whom one half is not distributed, would certainly bring the expences to the level of the receipts; but it seems the Spanish government suffers itself to be plundered; nay, even encourages the depredation, by not allowing to those in their employ a sufficient salary.

The exportation commerce of Louisiana, fifteen years ago, was carried on with thirty ships of moderate size. Since the cultivation of sugar and cotton, it has so increased, that above two hundred are employed.

Besides the above productions, New Orleans furnishes the Havannah with planks and sugar-casks, of which there is a great consumption. The contraband commerce with Mexico, is also a considerable advantage to New Orleans. The European merchandize, which is sold at a high price in almost every part of this rich country, encourages speculators to risk confiscation, and even corporeal punishments, to which they are condemned if discovered. The traders, after ascending the Red River as far as Natchitoches, transport their merchandize on horses to a distance of more than 600 miles. The hopes of wealth make them readily endure the fatigues inseparable from so long a journey, and the terrors of some savage nations, that kill without pity all the Whites that fall into their hands. The rich merchants, whose fortunes will permit them to make large sacrifices, land on the most advantageous coasts, and gain over in their favour the chiefs of the government, who, under pretence of allowing them time to repair their ship, take no notice of the quality or quantity of the goods landed.

The traders bring from Mexico ingots and piastres, with which they load mules and horses, the trouble of conducting which, and the expences on the road, may be considered the principal part of their cost. The mules, as well as horses, are small, strong, and vigorous. The rich merchants only bring back ingots and piastres, the countries where they land producing nothing which can be sold with advantage. By the treaty of 1796 with the United States, the King of Spain engaged to give them a depôt at New Orleans for the merchandize destined to ascend the Mississippi, and for the overplus of the products of the Western States. This depôt, which was granted to them for three years, was to have been (if His Catholic Majesty was unwilling to continue it) replaced by some other, equally advantageous to both governments. Without respect to this part of the treaty, the president of the United States was informed, some time before my arrival, that not only the port remained shut, but that also a depôt was forbidden to the American merchants. This breach of faith could not fail to exasperate the Western States, which have no other channel for disposing of the overplus of their productions. It has since appeared, that this measure was not authorized by the Spanish government, but was the result of the desire of injuring, and of hatred to the French.

CHAP. XIX.

CONSIDERATIONS ON SLAVERY.—FREE NEGROES.—MULATTOES.—CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED WITH THE NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY.—TERRITORIAL ADVANTAGES OF LOUISIANA FOR FRANCE.—THOSE WHICH IT OFFERS TO HER NAVY.—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.—COMMERCE IN SKINS.—MANNER OF REACHING THE LAKE OWINIPIKE, OR WINNIPEG.

SLAVERY, the greatest of necessary evils, as well to those that endure it, as those that are obliged to employ the victims, exists in both the Louisianas; and must continue many succeeding ages in the south, if the government wish to encourage agriculture, which is their only resource. The Negroes alone can labour in these scorching climates; the Whites, notwithstanding all precaution, perish if they cultivate their own fields.

To derive advantage from the colonies, the importation of Negroes must be protected; but, it is at the same time the interest of government, to watch that the inhabitants do not abuse the power given them by the laws.

After the cruel experience of St. Domingo, which probably has opened the eyes of all those philanthropists, who consider as nothing the prosperity of empires when it is in contradiction to their sentimental notions of humanity, I am far from advising the government to relax the chains of slavery, which either must subsist, or the colonies be lost.

In Lower Louisiana, the Negroes are badly fed; each individual does not receive above a barrel of maize in the ears every month, which is not more than one third of a barrel in grain. They must procure the remainder of their food and clothes by the produce of their labour on Sundays. If they do not, they must remain naked during the rigorous season. In winter they generally wear a shirt, and a woollen covering in the form of a great-coat.

Ought not a master to provide his slave with clothing and food, in proportion to the work required of him? Does not a day of rest belong to every man, and more especially to those employed in the labours of the field? These questions would have been unnecessary, if avarice, more powerful than humanity, did not govern all men, but especially the inhabitants of the colonies. What are the consequences of this avarice? The Negroes, badly fed and fatigued, are soon exhausted; weakness, disease, and death succeed. Thus does the master by increasing his revenues lose the capital, without being rendered wiser by experience. I am not unacquainted that the Negroes are unlike other men; they cannot be managed by mildness or sentiment; that they deride those who treat them with kindness; that they belong by their moral constitution as much to the brute, as by their physical, they do to man; but, let us at least take the same care of them as of the quadrupeds which we employ; let us feed them well, that they may work well, and not require of them more than they are able.

The Negroes are naturally crafty, idle, cruel, and thieves; I need not add, that in their hearts they are all enemies to the Whites. The serpent endeavours to bite him that tramples him under his feet; the slave must hate his master. But it is difficult to account for the brutality and aversion of the free Blacks to those of their own species. They are treated by them worse than by the Whites.

Although the free Blacks lose very little of their hatred to the Whites, yet they are far from being as dangerous as the Mulattoes. These seem to participate as much of the vices of both species as of their colour: they are vindictive, traitors, and equal enemies to the Blacks and Whites. As to men of colour, who are still more dangerous, it would probably be very advantageous to form them into a colony in some uninhabited part of the continent: this measure would free the colonies of those men, by whom they one day or other will be destroyed, and would abolish the intemperate conduct of the Whites towards their slaves, which is the ruin of society, and the principal cause of the small population of the countries they inhabit.

The conduct of the Spanish government towards the natives of Louisiana, has rendered the manner difficult with which the succeeding power should behave. Possessing sources of gold which seemed inexhaustible, this metal formed the basis of all their enterprises. If they desired war, they bought men, or if peace, it was procured by gold; if it was their interest to preserve harmony between two rival powers, the one that was in want of money was forced to renounce its claims. The chiefs of each nation annually received considerable presents for themselves and nation; and every savage going to a Spanish colony, received the same allowance as a soldier as long as he remained in it. In rigorous seasons and climates, they are clothed and provided with necessaries. Above eighty thousand francs are expended annually in these presents, by which the men in superior offices obtain their fortunes.

Of all European nations, none is better qualified to obtain the friendship of the nations near Louisiana than France. They have never forgotten that they were the first Whites that landed in their country, and that they first received from them guns and knives, (dangerous presents, but highly prized.) To obtain any thing from the savages, we must be kind, and at the same time severe in the administration of justice. If the Spanish government is at present despised by the nations with whom they trade, it is because, being too weak to be just, they have suffered the first murders committed on them to go unpunished.

Among the nations with whom it principally concerns the possessors of Louisiana to be on friendly terms, are the Sioux of the Savannahs: in the first place, because they are the most numerous nation of the North; secondly, being the best hunters, they are of great advantage to commerce; and thirdly, being masters of the left bank of the Missouri, and the right of the Mississippi, they might intercept all communication with the tribes situated on the upper part of these rivers.

After the Sioux, the Osages are perhaps the most barbarous of all the nations frequented by the Whites in this part of the continent. The conduct displayed by some French governors towards the savages of Canada, may serve as an example to those who shall be employed hereafter in the same situations. From the moment that a murder was committed, all communication with the traders was interdicted, until the criminal was discovered and executed. If any horses were stolen, the same mode was resorted to until they were restored. An act of mercy is in the eyes of the savages, an act of weakness; and one crime unpunished, always encourages the commission of a second.

Louisiana, by the treaty between Spain and the United States in 1796, received new boundaries. Its limits, which before comprehended both the banks of the Mississippi as far as the Ohio, were fixed to the left bank of this fine river, below the 32°; and Spain only remained in possession of the whole course from this place to its mouth, which is in 29° 51′, according to general estimate.

From the 30° of latitude, Louisiana enjoys the advantages of all the climates in Europe, and can supply all their productions. The air is salubrious, the land fertile, and the mines abundant; it is so well supplied with rivers, that the inhabitants are certain of an easy and uninterruped communication to a great distance. Sugar, cotton, indigo, rice, and tobacco, grow in the southern part; while in the more temperate parts, the earth produces abundant crops of corn, barley, maize, &c.

France is situated in the most temperate climate in the world; the lands are rich, its inhabitants laborious and industrious; but its territories are so confined, that notwithstanding its fertility, the crops are often destroyed, either by drought or superabundance of rain. In those seasons, the inhabitants are obliged to obtain from their neighbours, corn, and other necessaries of life.

Let us suppose Louisiana peopled so that its fertile lands were cultivated, and its meadows covered with flocks; then would France, in years of scarcity, find in it a certain resource. Excessive rains, or great drought, can only be partial in a country of so great an extent; and that part which has not suffered will always have an overplus to export.

To these advantages we may add those which France would derive for her navy from Louisiana. Being destitute of timber, she is obliged to obtain it from foreign countries, as also hemp. But if once in possession of this fine colony, she would find resources in herself. The cedar, the cypress, the acacia, the different species of oak, which are all fit for ship-building, cover its surface; and hemp, without cultivation, grows to a great height, and is even superior to that of the north of Europe. From the experiments which have been made by command of the Spanish ministry, the most advantageous conclusions have been drawn; to this may be added the possession of lead-mines, the ore being, in many places, close to the surface of the ground; the facility of manufacturing potash and salt-petre; and the iron, copper, and silver mines, so abundant in the interior.

The chief advantages of a colony, in respect of commerce, exists in the colony itself; and the more it is flourishing and populous, the greater will be the advantages derived by the mother country. But when, besides the interior consumption, it offers a market and supplies of the greatest importance to the mother-country, how much ought such a colony to be valued! Such is the case in which Louisiana is in relation to France. The inhabitants of the Western Settlements of the United States, entirely employed in agricultural labours, neither manufacture clothing nor furniture. Their intercourse with the maritime cities from which they obtain these necessary articles, presents innumerable difficulties; the land-carriage being both expensive and dangerous. How great would be the advantages gained by a depôt, from which all their supplies might come by water, and where they could pay for them by the overplus of their territorial productions! New Orleans is this depôt. Coffee, sugar, spices, East and West India merchandize, would always sell there to advantage. The government cannot be ignorant, how much the good understanding of the two countries depends on their commercial relations, and how advantageous it would be for France to preserve this good understanding with the Western States of America; which, from their character, opinions, and situation, will probably soon become independent of the Northern States. Another branch of commerce, not less important, is that of furs and skins. I have endeavoured in a former chapter to prove, with what facility Louisiana might wrest this trade from Canada, on the whole of the right bank of the Mississippi: it will be less difficult to convince the reader, that we possess, even over our rivals on the most northern lakes, an advantage of cent. per.cent.

Between the Missouri and the chain of mountains which are on the southern bank of the great Red River, whose waters flow into the lake Owinipike, is a part of the nation of Chistinous, to the number of five hundred warriors. The body of this nation, to the number of 2500 warriors, is dispersed between the 50 and 55° north lat. and 120° west-long. Between the Missouri and the Red River, but more to the west, is the river of the Osseniboines, which seems to derive its waters from the lake Placotte; it flows into the river Catepoie, which has its mouth in the Red River, at a little distance from the lake Owinipike. The people that inhabit its banks, known by the name of the Osseniboines, situated between 48 and 50° north lat. and 115° long. are kind and peaceable, and the number of their warriors amount to five or six hundred.

More to the west, at the foot of the Orignal mountains, which separates the waters of the Missouri from those of the river Catepoie, are the Chivitoans, to the number of two thousand: they are situated between 44 and 45° north lat. and 117° west long. at a little distance from the Missouri. If we poceed towards the north, along the mountains which seem to divide the lakes from the Pacific Ocean, we find, in the 50° lat. the nation of Piegans, composed of one thousand warriors. In the same latitude, but some degrees more to the west, the Sasacs, to the number of 400; the Pieds-noirs, to the number of 1500; and in the 54° the Castor nation, to the number of about six hundred.

All these nations, situated on different rivers, which all flow into the river Oupaw, may easily transport their skins to the lake Owinipike. On the river Oupaw, is the body of the Chistinous, mentioned above. Most of these nations consider the Whites as superior beings, under the special protection of the Great Spirit. Near to the lake Owinipike, in the 57° lat. and 110° west long. are the Schipiwans, to the number of eight hundred warriors; and on the east of the Owinipike, the Makigos, who amount to the same number.

From these nations the English obtain the principal part of their fine furs. In fact, instead of the thirty-six transportations by land, which they are obliged to employ to arrive at Lake Superior by that of Mechigan, we can pass by one which is practicable during the whole year: they have, besides, seventy others before they reach the lake Owinipike. Some of these transportations present so great obstacles, that it requires the greatest strength and courage to surmount them; and, notwithstanding all their activity, they never reach their distination within a year. As we could make a voyage from New Orleans in less than a year, that is to say, before those that have left Quebec or Montreal have reached the nations with whom they traffic, what a superiority should we possess!

Although no one has ascended to the source of the Mississippi, the general opinion of travellers is, that it derives its waters from some of the north-western lakes. If so, we remain indisputed masters of this part of the continent; if otherwise, there is no doubt that a communication will shortly be found in the direction of the rivers that flow into it. Then a single transportation by land would be sufficient, instead of one hundred and six, which impede the trade of the English. But if this mean fails, the Missouri offers to us another, the facility of which is certain.

This river, the navigation of which is as uninterrupted as that of the Mississippi, will afford an easy passage to the Owinipike. Between 105 and 110° west long. and 43 and 45° north lat. at a little distance from the Missouri, is the river Pabinac, which has an opening into the upper part of the Red River, which latter opens a direct communication with the Owinipike. A staple situated on the nearest part of the Missouri, would be sufficient to insure a communication with the river Pabinac; boats might there be built, and the merchandize would thus reach its destination with the greatest quickness. This staple would also serve to facilitate discoveries to the south-west of the Missouri, which would be of the first importance to commerce.

CHAP. XX.

LOUISIANA CONSIDERED IN A POLITICAL VIEW.—NECESSITY OF A LARGE COLONY FOR FRANCE.—DEPARTURE FROM NEW ORELANS.—FORT PLAQUEMINE, BUILT BY M. D. CARONDELET.—FORT BOURBON.—BALISE.—PILOT MAJOR.—EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE.

IT is difficult to conceive why Spain, in possession of both banks of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio, should determine to give up one to the United States without being obliged by necessity, the only motive that could excuse the cession of so important an advantage. In vain is advanced the impossibility of defending such an extensive territory: if this were sufficient reason, she ought also to have abandoned Louisiana and a great part of her other possessions in America, which are without means of defence, and are only secure on account of the weakness of the surrounding nations. No one is ignorant that the invasion of a country is attended by hostilities, to which the United States neither ought nor could have exposed themselves at the moment when Spain shewed this impolitic liberality.

The Spanish government can only be recompensed for the voluntary abandonment which was made of the right bank as far as the 32° of N. L. by the gratitude and attachment of her neighbours. But what is the gratitude of nations? A vague sentiment, which the slightest motive of interest occasions to vanish; a painful yoke, which is continually endeavoured to be cast off, and which it is often advantageous to break even at the expence of justice. It is a fact but too well proved, that policy and virtue cannot exist together; and that every thing is subordinate to the respective strength of nations, or the caprices of those that govern them; that a wise government ought to found the basis of all their proceedings on the interest or power of their neighbours; and that that which departs from these maxims will be accused of weakness or pusillanimity.

Spain, weak in Europe, and without force or consideration in America, neither knows how to make herself feared or respected. It requires a more vigorous arm to keep the keys of a barrier, on which depends the invasion of this part of the continent, and consequently the independence of the colonies, as soon as they shall find neighbours powerful enough to protect them, and sufficiently industrious to supply their wants.

In vain it is advanced that the Americans are not a warlike nation; that being occupied in agriculture and commerce, they do not think on aggrandizement; that the form of their government is opposite to all projects of conquest; and lastly, that it is their interest to live in the most perfect harmony with the powers of Europe. I reply, they are not warlike, because they have not a superabundance of men; and that if the system of the government appears at the moment opposite to all aggrandizement, it is not less prudent to provide against the changes which may happen in its policy; and from the revolutions which threaten America, a new system may arise, which will make them occupy a rank in the political balance of the world, which they have not hitherto done.

Another, no less important consideration for France, is, the necessity of a large colony, to which she might send the overplus of her population. All well-governed nations among whom commerce and the arts have flourished, soon obtain a superabundant population, which not finding a sufficient subsistence in their own country, must emigrate in search of new settlements.

The Romans had numerous colonies; the Greeks also in their prosperity founded many. The people of the north, too numerous, invaded the south; and in times less remote we have seen all the great powers of Europe fill countries, of immense extent, and which before had been deserts, without any sensible decrease of their population. Thus Holland has carried her industry to the two Indies, where she possesses large colonies; and England, the least populous state in Europe, has created new kingdoms, which contain more subjects than herself. France alone is deprived of this resource. No part in the world seems better suited for this purpose than Louisiana, where every species of industry cannot fail of success.

It is no longer doubted that the new continent will at some future period be independent of the old. The lands are too fertile, and the climate too genial, not to attract a numerous population, which will not fail to break the yoke, that is borne only by imbecility. France, by obtaining possession of Louisiana, cannot prevent this effect, necessary from the succession of time and consciousness of strength; but she will retard it.

After a residence of more that two months in New Orleans, I quitted it on the 29th of December, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of my friends, and the dangers of the season. The vessel in which I embarked, bound for Bourdeaux, carried Spanish colours, and was called La Mexicana. The country below New Orleans became level as we descended the river. The lands on both banks are well cultivated within twenty miles of the town; but beyond that distance small portions are only attended to, on account of the whole being a great part of the year inundated by the river.

Sixty miles below New Orleans is fort Plaquemine, erected during the government and under the direction of Baron de Carondelet. Fort Plaquemine, strongly built of brick, presents a battery of twelve long pieces of cannon on both sides towards the river. Fort Bourbon, on the opposite bank, has a battery which crosses that of Plaquemine: the garrison of these two posts is composed of from eighty to one hundred men, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel.

From Plaquemine to Balise, the last Spanish port on the Mississippi, the country is uninhabited, and the land so low that there can never be any estabilishments formed. At Balise the pilot-major resides, who has the exclusive right of pilotting all ships either to or from New Orelans. This privilege, which was granted by the Spanish government, is very injurious to navigators. The pilots under his command, having no competitors to fear, only go out when the vessel is near the port. It is the more injurious to commerce, because the approach to the land in this part of the gulf is extremely dangerous, both on account of the violence of the winds, and the number of the mouths of the Mississippi, which often deceive navigators. The accidents which happen would be in part prevented, if the pilotage was free to all that had served a regular apprenticeship: the love of gain would induce them to go to ships at some miles from the coast.

Another inconvenience of exclusive privileges is, that the King of Spain, who is charged with all the expences of pilotting, maintains no vessels proper to assist those that meet with accidents.

Those that navigate in these latitudes ought to pay particular attention to the point of the compass in which it is proper to enter the port. The pilot assured me, that on account of the sailors not attending to this, so many accidents happened. The prudent navigator must remember to enter the channel when he sees the town of Balise to the north-west.

The King of Spain maintains at Balise a garrison of twenty men, principally designed for the service of the custom-house, an officer belonging to which goes on board every ship entering or departing. There are also twenty men under the order of the pilot-major, paid and kept as soldiers: they may, however, quit their employ at pleasure, provided that their services are not immediately required, and that they owe nothing. This last condition generally fixes them for many years; the pilot-major taking care to keep them always dependant, by supplying them with spirits, of which they consume large quantities.

CHAP. XXI.

LIFE OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS BOWLES.

AMERICA, although populous for many years, has produced very few men whose names are deserving of being transmitted to posterity; Franklin and Washington are perhaps the only ones to whom it can boast of having given birth. I hope for pardon in relating the life of one, who, by the originality of his character, the extent of his knowledge, the vast projects he has conceived, and those that he has executed, merits particular attention.

George Augustus Bowles was born in Maryland, one of the United States; his father, an Englishman by birth, had amassed a considerable property, and enjoyed the esteem of his fellow-citizens, among whom he had an honourable rank. When the war broke out in 1775 between England and the United States, Bowles, though yet a boy, ran after the adventures of a military life, for which nature seemed to have designed him. It would be difficult to alledge the reasons that determined him to prefer the English party to that of his native country. It is probable that the elegance and good discipline of the English regiments, alone determined his choice. At the age of thirteen he offered himself a volunteer to an English regiment of infantry, and was admitted. After a year's service he was received among the Loyalists of Maryland, commanded by Colonel James Chalmers, a man distinguished for his great talents, his fortune, and attachment to the mother country.

Having embarked in 1777 with his regiment, in which he had obtained the rank of an officer, he arrived at Pensacola in Florida, where, on account of negligence, he was deprived of his commission. Far from feeling uneasiness, he supported his misfortune with indifference and even joy. Having passed his youth in the midst of forests, and on the frontiers of savages, he contracted an early attachment to their mode of living. He retired among the Creek Indians, and married one of their women. During the war between England and Spain, in 1779, he particularly distinguished himself by his cool intrepidity and superiority of genius. The constant friend of the English, he persuaded his brother-warriors to go to the assistance of Pensacola, which was then besieged by the Spaniards. He entered the town at the head of a party which he had raised, and conducted himself as an able commander. The attack of Mobile afforded him a fresh opportunity of distinction: the applauses which he deservedly received, engaged Col. Campbell to offer him the command of a company, which he accepted; but, in a short time, was deprived of it by a court-martial, and was on the point of being sentenced to death, for having, at the head of the army, threatened one of his superior officers. Disgusted with the European service, he returned to his friends, with whom he had left his children, as a pledge of his love and fidelity. Although not yet nineteen, he had inspired them with such a veneration for him, and was so admired by them, that he was called "the beloved warrior."

He remained with them a whole year, during which he was not inactive. The advice which he gave them, and the new means of defence and attack in which he instructed them, will insure to them, in case of necessity, a decided superiority over their enemies. Incapable of remaining long inactive, he set out to visit the coasts of Florida. After travelling over them, he embarked for Providence, where he solicited arms and ammunition for his nation. Having obtained them, he returned in spite of every obstacle to the Creeks. He then embarked with some of his intrepid companions in a transport ship, and crossed with them into the gulf of Florida, where he captured many Spanish ships, bound for the Havannah and New Orleans.

The Spanish government, obstructed in her commerce by an enemy hitherto despised, covered themselves with disgrace by offering a reward for his head. However, notwithstanding the subtilty of Spain, Bowles continued to keep the sea with advantage.

Being invested by his tribe with an unlimited authority, he was after the peace of 1783, indefatigable in improving the lot of his brother-warriors. Threatened in 1785 by a war with the inhabitants of Georgia, whose assembly had sold some lands belonging to the Creeks, he set out for Augusta, where the States were held. After taking every precaution, and being assured by the inhabitants that he had nothing to fear from them, he returned and informed his friends. For their greater security, he proposed a general league with the other Indian nations, from Florida to Canada: and ambassadors were immediately sent to make proposals, which were unanimously agreed to.

Effectually to support these measures, Bowles, with all the money that he had taken from the Spaniards, set out for St. Augustine, and from thence he proceeded to Providence. On his return in 1787, how great was his astonishment, when he was informed that the Spaniards had, during his absence, treated with the Creek chiefs, among whom they had distributed some silver medals, on their engaging to wage war against the Georgians, and had already supplied them with arms and ammunition! He easily made appear to them the consequences of their conduct; and on his entreaty they sent back the medals to the governor, whose hatred for Bowles increased in proportion to the supposed affront.

The war between England and Spain, which was on the point of breaking out, not yet having taken place, and the Georgians remaining in a state of inaction, Bowles seized this opportunity to put his long-planned project into execution; which was to declare the ports of Apalachicola, Oakwelakre, and Tampé, free to all commercial nations.

To ensure success to this design, he sent seven hundred warriors to Apalachicola and Tampé, and went himself to Oakwelakre, where some Spanish emissaries endeavoured to assassinate him; but the attempt only occasioned an attack on the Apaloches, a small Spanish post in Florida, and which he laid under contribution. Thus did this great man employ all his faculties to discipline, instruct, and civilize a numerous and brave people, which would soon have ranked among civilized nations, if the base jealousy of Spain had not counteracted his generous designs. Bowles became so odious to Spain, that she resolved to destroy him at any price.

Two Spanish officers, named Hevia and Rousseau, undertook to dishonour themselves in the sight of the whole world, by seconding the government in the disgraceful measures which were resolved upon. These two men were sent to him with a letter from the governor of Louisiana, who said, that he had orders from his government, to treat with him on the disputes subsisting between the Creek Indians and the court of Spain; and that, in order to facilitate the negociation, he had sent a ship with two officers appointed to conduct him to New Orleans, where he would experience every civility, and be treated with the attention he justly merited. On these assurances, he departed for New Orleans, and waited upon the governor, who received him with every external mark of friendship. But when he began to discuss matters with him, relative to the interests of his nation, he pretended that he had not authority to agree to some of the most important articles; and, notwithstanding the national honour pledged by the two officers, he sent Bowles to the Havannah, and shortly after to Spain.

On his arrival at Madrid, the Spanish government endeavoured to seduce him by a large fortune, and a brilliant post in the army, both which Bowles rejected with indignation. To this Spain added a new artifice. An alcaide informed him, that the king had appointed two commissaries at Cadiz, to treat with him, and that to end all difficulties, he must repair thither immediately. After a detension of eight months in the capital, he arrived at Cadiz, where he was confined for a whole year. During this interval, a proposal was made to him as follows:—"A messenger," says he, in a letter to one of his friends, "came one day and informed me, that if I would write to the Duke of Alcerdia, and accuse the Counts of Aranda and Florida Blanca, of ill treatment to me, I should be brought back to court, and my business finished to my satisfaction. The indignation that I felt on hearing this, cannot be easily easily expressed; I commanded the messenger not to repeat it on pain of feeling my displeasure. 'In that case,' replied he, 'you must prepare to visit the Philippines.'

"A few days subsequent to this infamous proposal," adds he, "I was conducted on board of a vessel, without knowing whither I was bound: I was sent to Lima by Cape Horn, without any preparation for my voyage, almost naked, and in the coldest season of the year." Here the same propositions were renewed which had been made in Spain. They were rejected, and he was embarked for Manilla; where he arrived on the 27th of November, 1795. In 1797, he was again embarked for Europe; but, at the isle of Ascension, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to Sierra Leone, where he procured a passage to London.

On his arrival in England, Bowles was destitute of articles of the first importance; but being informed that Mr. Pitt was at Walmer Castle, he went thither, and remained there many days, during which he recovered from his fatigues. Being provided with a letter written by Mr. Pitt, he waited on the Duke of Portland, who kindly received him, and who supplied all his wants. Loaded with the kindness of government, which afforded him all the aid that he required for his nation, he departed, after a long residence in England, with the design of wreaking his vengeance on a deceitful government, that had imprisoned and ill treated him.

Since that time he has endeavoured by every means in his power to injure Spain. Lastly, in 1801, having levied a considerable party, he marched to the Apalaches, drove the Spanish garrison from the fort, destroyed the fortifications, and remained in possession of the place until the governor of New Orleans sent reinforcements, which he did not think advisable to oppose.

Bowles is tall, well made, and of a prepossessing appearance; his complexion olive. A sailor before he had seen a ship, a mathematician without learning the first elements of the science, a chemist and a mechanic; it is probable, that if his ardent genius had confined itself to any one of these sciences, he would have reached the highest perfection. He speaks French, Spanish, and all the dialects of the savages in this part of the continent, with as much facility as his native tongue, and unites to the qualities of the body those of the mind.

I cannot conclude this abridgment of his life, without relating a trait, which proves this last assertion in the clearest manner. One of the officers who had betrayed him, and was probably going to receive the reward of his treachery, fell into the water. The Spanish sailors seemed in no hurry to go to his assistance. Bowles was sitting at the poop of the ship in deep reflection; but, he no sooner perceived the miscreant who had betrayed him struggling with the waves, than he plunged into the sea, and reached him at the moment he was ready to sink. He brought him to the side of the ship, and said, loud enough to be heard by the whole crew, "I ought perhaps to revenge your perfidy; but live, and remember that you owe your life to the man whom you have deprived of liberty."

END OF DU LAC'S TRAVELS.

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